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- CLARKE, J.**, Ancient Irish and Modern Lace, Fan and Moire Antique Warehouse. By appointment—Milliner, Dress, Corset, and Habit Maker, at 170, Regent-street, 79, Bold-street, Liverpool, and 24, Princes-street, Manchester.
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- CLAYTON, W., & Co.**, Wholesale Export Perfumers, Fancy Soap and Brush Manufacturers, and General Warehousemen, 72, Watling-street.
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- COLLINS, R. N.**, Wholesale Druggist and Patentee of the Disinfecting Powder for instantaneously destroying offensive smells, purifying sick rooms, workshops, &c., and for making Bleaching Liquid, 1, Oxford-court, Cannon-street, City.
- COMYNS, H.**, Optician, 5, Hereford-place, King's-rd., Chelsea.
- CONNOR & Co.**, Glass Works, Ballymacarrett, Belfast.
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- COOK, SON, & Co.**, Manchester Warehousemen, St. Paul's Churchyard.
- COOPER, G. A., & Co.**, Fancy Tea-Box and Tea-Canister Makers and General Japanners, 45, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
- COOPER, J., & Co.**, Manufacturers of Patent Pianofortes for Exportation, 43, Moorgate-street.
- COOPER, J., & SONS**, Manufacturers of the Patent Solid Pianofortes for India and the Colonies, of great strength and fullness of tone, 70, Berners-street, Oxford-street.
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- COOPER, W. F.**, Manufacturer of all kinds of Waterproof Clothing, General Outfitter, and Importer of American Over-Shoes, 16, Aldgate, High-street.
- COPNER, —**, Fishmonger, New-street, Birmingham.
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- COTTON, C. R.**, Export Cooper, Bermondsey-wall.
- COULSHAW, WILLIAM, Jun.**, Tailor and Trowser Maker, 17, Radcliffe-terrace, Goswell-road, opposite Spencer-street.
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- Cox, F.**, Optician, 100, Newgate-street.
- Cox, J.**, Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 5, Barbican.
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- CRIEB, W. E.**, Chronometer and Watch Maker, 17, Southampton-row, Russell-square.
- CRISP, W. G.**, Goldsmith and Jeweller, 64, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
- CROGGON & Co.**, Patent Asphalte Roofing, Boiler, Railway, Sheathing, and Inodorous Felt, (for damp walls,) 2, Dowgate-hill.
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- CROSSLEY, HENRY, & Co.**, Stuff Dyers and Finishers, Calder Dye Works, Brighouse.
- CROWTHER, J.**, Bleacher, Lyon Fold, Blackley.
- CURR, GEORGE, & Co.**, Damascus Steel Works, Lead Mill-street, Sheffield, Manufacturers of Steel, Saws, Files, Edge Tools, &c.
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- DAVIES, W. J.**, Emery and Black Lead Manufacturer, New Weston-street, Southwark.
- DAVIS, E. J.**, Marquee and Rick Cloth Manufacturer, West Smithfield.
- DAVIS, G. P.**, Manufacturer of Launcelott's Patent Cooking Apparatus, and the Portable Washing Coppers, Gas Fitter, &c., 11, Barbican, City.
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 DEAR & WARRINER, Wholesale and Export Toy Warehouse, 191, Bishopsgate-street, Without.
 DEARE, F. D., Australian Commission Merchant, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.
 DEED, J. S., Currier, Morocco, Roan, Kid, and Lamb Leather Dresser, and Wool Rug Manufacturer, 9 and 10, Little Newport-st.—Manufactory, Steyne Mills, Acton.
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 DEVILLE & CO., Lamp, Lighthouse Lanthorn and Reflector Manufacturers, and Gas Fitters, 367, Strand.
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 DIXON, T., Saddlers' Tool Maker, Hall-lane, Walsall.
 DOBBY, JOHN, Cutler, &c., 95, Strand.
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 DOBSON, J., Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 268, High Holborn.
 DOVE, E., Die Sinker, Seal Cutter, Embosser, Seal and Fancy Wafer Manufacturer, 39, Forster-street, Ashley-crescent, City-road.
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 DUDLEY, J., Boiler Maker, Cottage-row, Bermondsey.
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 DUTHOIT & CO., Patent Portable Umbrella Tent Manufacturers, 6, Finsbury-place, South.
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 ELLY, T. B., Shoe and Leather Manufacturer, Consignee for French Shoes and Leather, Stafford, and 3, Victoria-street, Holborn, Wholesale Warehouse, 74, Dale-street, Liverpool.
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 ELLWOOD, J. & SONS, Wholesale and Export Hat Manufacturers, 24, Great Charlotte-street, Blackfriars-road.
 ELSTON & SONS, R., Watch Dial Manufacturers, 24, Myddleton-street, Clerkenwell.
 EMES, J., Trunk, Chest, and Packing-Case Manufacturer, 110, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury. Bullock and Overland Trunks for India.
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 FONTAINE, W., Tallow Chandler, Soap Maker, and Oilman, East-street, Hoxton.
 FORD, F. C., & CO., Ships' Provision and Wine Merchants, 114, Minories.
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 FRENCH, J., & SONS, Wholesale Manufacturing Goldsmiths and Jewellers, 5, Newcastle-place, Clerkenwell-close.
 FREEMAN, Builder and Architect, New Walk, Shad Thames.
 FROST, J., Copper and Brass Founder, 8, Allen-street, Goswell-street.
 FROST, W., Brass Founder and General Caster for Gas Fitters, Engineers, and Ship Builders, 17, Half Moon-street, Bishopsgate-street.
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- GOODREHERE & Co., Wholesale and Export Ironmongers, Iron and Brass Founders, Ship Smiths, Tinnmen and Braziers; Manufacturers of Troop, Emigrant, and Ships' Fire Hearths, 9, Wellclose-square.
- GOODE & BOLAND, Gold and Silver Chain Manufacturers, 59, Hatton-garden, and Birmingham.
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- GORDON, J. G., Druggist and Veterinary Chemist, 144, High-street, Whitechapel.
- GOSLET, A., Wholesale Looking Glass Manufacturer, Crown, Sheet, Patent Plate, and Ornamental Glass Merchant, 26, Soho-square.
- GOY, EVANS & Co., General Outfitters, 175, Piccadilly, and 24 and 25, Cornhill.
- GRAHAM, J., Woollen Draper, Shirt Maker, Hosiery, and Outfitter, 179, High-street, Edinburgh.
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- GRAY, T. W., Hydraulic Engineer, Brass and Iron Founder, Brazier, Plumber, &c., 79, King William-street.
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- GREENHILL, C., Morocco-Case and Watch Material Manufacturer, 12, Gt. Sutton-street, Clerkenwell.
- GREENWOOD, T., Church, Turret, House, and Musical Clock Manufacturer, 5, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.
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- HARTREE, W. T., Export Cooper, &c., 7, Charlotte-row, Bermondsey.
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- HAWKINGS, J., Plate and Looking-glass Warehouse, 5, Albion-place, Backfriars Bridge.
- HAWKINGS, J., Wholesale Stationer, 5, Albion-place, Blackfriars Bridge.
- HAYES, J., Surgeon-Dentist and Cupper, 42, St. Martin's-lane, Charing-cross.
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- HILL & STONE, Coach Builders and Harness Makers, 20 and 21, Little Moorfields, and 49, London Wall.
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- HOLLIS, G., Pewterer and Manufacturer of Worms, Stills, Refrigerators, Soda Water and Beer Machines, Pots, &c., 27, Crown-street, Finsbury-square.
- HOLGATE, J., Contractor for Railway Stores, Cotton Waste Dealer, &c., 9, Arthur-street West, City.
- HOLGATE, J., & Co., (late Blow), Curriers, Leather Dressers, and Manufacturers of Machine Straps, Hose Pipes, &c. 21, Great Dover Road.
- HOLMAN, E. W., Pianoforte Maker for Home use or Exportation to extreme Climates, 10, Grafton-st., Fitzroy-sq.
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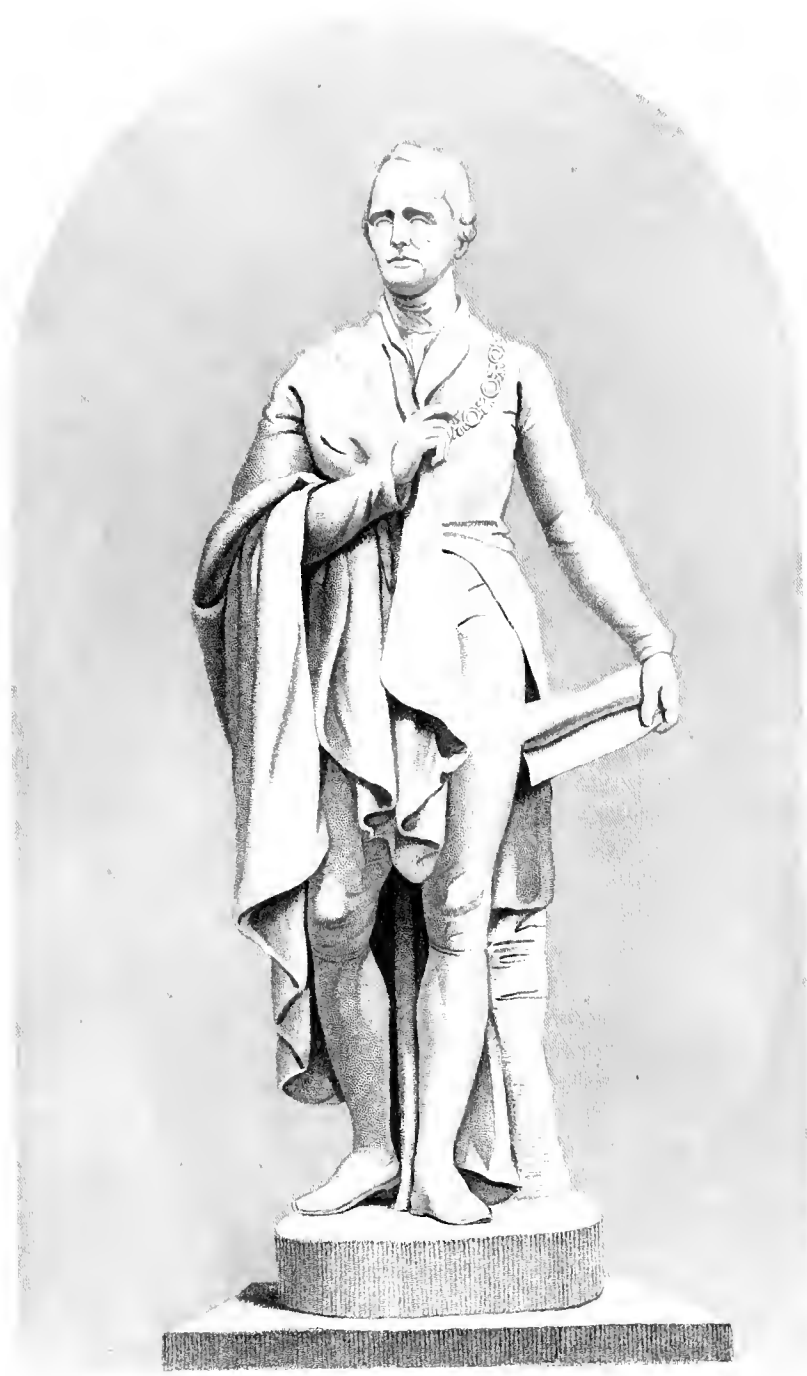
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SECTION II.

EUROPEAN INTERCOURSE—RISE AND GROWTH OF BRITISH POWER.

SOME light is thrown on the communication between the eastern and western hemispheres by the scriptural account of the frequent supplies of spices and other oriental products obtained by Solomon from the southern parts of Asia, B.C. 1000. The Phœnicians were even then supposed to have long been the chief carriers in the Indian trade, by way of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; but an overland intercourse appears to have been simultaneously maintained through Persia and Arabia. Of the Asiatics themselves, and of their territories, little was known in Europe until the invasion of the Indian frontier by Alexander the Great, B.C. 331. For nearly three centuries after his death, the Indian traffic was chiefly conducted by Egyptian and Arabian merchants, by way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean; the marts being Berenice, Coptos, and Alexandria. There were, besides, two other and far less frequented routes: the first lay through Persia and the upper part of Arabia to the Syrian cities, and stretched over a long and dreary desert tract, in which the only halting-place was the famous Tadmor or Palmyra—the city of palms—whose independence and growing prosperity exciting the jealousy of imperial Rome, proved the occasion of its destruction, notwithstanding the determined efforts of its brave queen, Zenobia. With Palmyra the overland traffic of the desert, which had existed since the time of Abraham, terminated; but the other route, across the rocky passes of the Hindoo Koosh, is still in existence, and by this means an inland trade is maintained between India, Persia, and Russia (*via* Bokhara.)

In the middle of the first century of the Christian era a discovery was made by a Greek, named Hippalus, the commander of an Egyptian East-Indiaman, of the steady course of the monsoon, at fixed periods, in a certain direction. The result of his observation and daring adventure was to reduce a tedious voyage, of two months' duration, within the compass of a few days; mariners thenceforth steering from the mouth of the Red Sea directly across the ocean to Neleunda (the site of which Dr. Vincent traces in the

modern Nelisuram), instead of following the circuitous line of the Arabian and Persian coasts. Here pepper in great abundance, cotton cloths, and exquisitely fine muslins, silk, ivory, spikenard, pearls, diamonds, amethysts, with other precious stones, and tortoiseshell, awaited the arrival of the merchants, and were largely exported, as also from Tyndis and Musiris (Barcelore and Mangalore), and other emporia on the Indian coast, in exchange for gold and silver, (in vessels and specie,) cloth, coral, incense, glass, and a little wine.

The weakness and distraction of the Roman empire checked this profitable traffic, and the rise of Mohammedan power subsequently cut off all direct communication between Europe and India. The Arabians then formed settlements on the eastern coasts of the Deccan, and by their vessels, or by inland caravans, the rich productions of India were sold to the Venetians or Genoese on the shores of the Mediterranean or of the Euxine. These merchant-princes, though characterised by maritime enterprise, were naturally little desirous of prosecuting discoveries calculated to break up their monopoly, and transfer to other hands at least a large proportion of the Indian trade. The leading European states, engrossed by national or internal strife, were slow to recognise the superiority of an extended commerce as a means of even political greatness, over the sanguinary warfare into which whole kingdoms were repeatedly plunged to gratify the ambition or malignity of a few persons—often of a single individual. The short-lived triumphs of the sword only paved the way for new contests, envenomed by bitter recollections; and it followed inevitably, that all peaceful interests—arts and sciences, mechanics, and agriculture—were neglected in the paramount necessity of finding means to meet the heavy drain of blood and treasure so wantonly incurred. The true principle of trade—the greatest good of the greatest number—was quite overlooked: the citizens of a leading emporium forgot, in triumphing over a defeated rival, that they were exulting in the destruction of one of their own markets; and were far from understanding the more remote connexion which, in the absence

of a holier principle of union, binds nation to nation, forming of the whole a body-corporate, through which the blood circulates more or less freely according to the healthy or diseased action of each and every member.

PORTUGUESE DISCOVERY AND DOMINION.*
—A new epoch commenced for Europe, dating from the time when John I. and Prince Henry—worthy representatives of the royal house of Portugal—struck out for themselves and their country a path to power and renown, by becoming the patrons of maritime discovery. Portugal was then, as now, of limited extent and fertility: her previous history afforded little scope for boastful recollection, either while under the sway of the Romans, as the province of Lusitania, or when, in the middle ages, she lay crushed beneath the iron yoke of the Moors, who, after having overrun nearly the whole Peninsula, erected Portugal into a kingdom, under the name of Algarve. But the fiery furnace of adversity developed marvellously the latent energies of the Portuguese. Religious zeal became the inspiring theme with them, as it had formerly been with their conquerors; and, after a struggle of many hundred years' duration, they, like their Spanish neighbours, succeeded in expelling from their shores the numerous, warlike, and fanatical hordes united under the banner of the crescent.

Acting on the false principle of their late persecutors,—that hostilities against infidels were meritorious in the sight of God,—the Portuguese pursued the Moors into Africa, retaliating by every possible means the long

series of outrage and thralldom to which they had been subjected. The peculiar situation of Portugal, and its long range of coastline, bordered by the yet unmeasured expanse of the Atlantic, favoured maritime enterprise; and the exploration of the shores of western, southern, and eastern Africa was followed by the expedition of Vasco de Gama, who, after crossing the Indian Ocean (by the aid of a Hindoo pilot, obtained at Melinda), succeeded in gaining the Malabar coast, and landed at Calicut in May, 1498.

The general condition of India at this period has been shown in previous pages.† Secander Soor sat on the throne of Delhi: in the Deccan, the Mohammedan rulers were Mohammed II., of the Bahmani dynasty; Yusuf Adil Shah, of Beejapoor; and Ahmed Nizam Shah, of Ahmednuggur. The country visited by the Portuguese had anciently formed the southern division of the kingdom of Kerala;‡ but in the course of the ninth century had revolted from its prince (who had become a Mohammedan), and been formed into many petty Hindoo principalities. Of these, the chief was that now governed by a ruler styled the *zamorin*, or *Tamuri rajah*,§ to whom several lesser rajahs seem to have been feudatory; his capital, called Calicut, had attained wealth and celebrity as a commercial emporium. By this prince the adventurers were well received; and notwithstanding some awkward blunders, occasioned by their ignorance of the language, customs, and religion of the country,|| all went on favourably until their proceedings excited the jealousy of the Mohammedan traders, whom they

* The authorities for the Portuguese proceedings are Lopez de Castanheda; Stevens' translation of Faria y Sousa; and the accounts given in Harris's *Voyages*, the *World displayed*; Murray's *Discoveries*; and other collections of travels by land and sea, in which Juan de Barros and Osorio are largely quoted.

† Pp. 92 to 106.

‡ Page 41.

§ The origin of the *zamorins*, or *Tamuri rajahs*, is discussed by Buchanan (vol. ii., p. 474) and Sousa (vol. ii., p. 225.) In accordance with the custom of the country, the name of the individual then reigning was withheld from the Portuguese; but their interpreter, a Moor of Tunis (long resident at Calicut), described him "as a very good man, and of an honourable disposition." He proved to be a person of majestic presence and advanced age: dressed in fine white calico, adorned with branches and flowers of beaten gold, and rare gems (with which latter his whole person was bedecked), he reclined on cushions of white silk, wrought with gold, under a magnificent canopy. A golden fountain of water stood beside him, and a gold basin filled with betel and areca: the hall of audience was richly carpeted, and hung with tapestry of silk and gold. De Gama found some difficulty

from the want of the costly presents with which all diplomatic intercourse in the east begins and ends. The *zamorin* desired an image of Mary, in gold, of which he had heard: this was refused, on the plea that it was only wood, gilt, but valuable "because it had preserved them at sea"—an answer calculated to confirm the assertion of the Moors, that these Europeans, unlike the natives Christians, were idolaters.

|| The Portuguese, acquainted by the accounts of Marco Polo and other travellers with the existence of a Christian community on this coast, looked for the signs of Christian or rather Romish worship; and, filled with this idea, actually entered a splendid pagoda with lofty pillars of brass, and prostrated themselves before an assemblage of strange and grotesque forms, which they took for the Indian ideal of the Madonna and saints. The strings of beads worn by the priests, the water with which the company were sprinkled, the powdered sandal-wood, and the peal of bells, could not, however, quell the suspicions excited by the numerous arms and singular accompaniments of many of the figures; and one of the Portuguese started to his feet, exclaiming, "If these be devils, it is God I worship."

termed the Moors,* settled in Calicut. These merchants having, through their factors, received intelligence of the contests which had taken place, during the voyage, between Vasco de Gama and the people of Mozambique, Mombas, Melinda, and other places on the coast of Africa, informed the zamorin of the outrages that had been committed on this and previous occasions, urging, with sufficient reason, that people who, on frivolous pretences, fired upon and destroyed towns, carried off the inhabitants as slaves, and scrupled not to extort information by the most barbarous tortures, were more probably pirates than ambassadors,† especially as they came unprovided with any offering from their sovereign. Notwithstanding these representations, the Portuguese were suffered to make an advantageous disposition of their cargo (of scarlet cloth, brass, coral, &c.) at Calicut; but a dispute subsequently arising, the factor and secretary were made prisoners. De Gama dissembled his alarm, and continued to communicate with the Indians as if nothing had occurred, until he had succeeded in entrapping on board his vessel a party, comprising six nairs‡ and fifteen other persons of distinction. He then demanded the release of his officers as their ransom; but when this condition was complied with, forfeited his pledge by retaining possession of several of his captives. Enraged by this dishonourable and insulting conduct, the zamorin dispatched a squadron of boats against the Portuguese, and succeeded in procuring the co-operation of neighbouring powers; so that in a short time every bay, creek, and river was filled with boats, ready, at a given signal, to attack the intruders. Such at least was the intelligence, wrung by tortures of the most cruel and disgusting description, from a spy who came out from Goa. De Gama, by the aid of favourable winds avoided the encounter, steered homewards, and reached

the Tagus in August, 1499, after an absence of two years and two months; only fifty-five of the 160|| men who had accompanied him on his perilous enterprise, surviving to share the honours of his triumphant entry into Lisbon; but of these, every individual received rewards, together with the personal commendation of King Emanuel.

An armament, comprising thirteen ships and 1,200 men, was immediately fitted out and dispatched to take advantage of the new discovery. The command was entrusted to Alvarez Cabral, De Gama being excluded on the plea of being spared the hazard, but probably either on account of an opposite interest having begun to prevail at court, or because even his own report of his Indian proceedings may have borne evidence that the beneficial results of the skill and courage which had enabled him to triumph over the perils of unknown seas, were likely to be neutralized by his indiscreet and aggressive conduct on shore. Cabral reached Calicut in September, 1500, having, on his way, discovered the coast of Brazil, and lost four of his ships in the frightful storms encountered in rounding the Cape of Good Hope, Bartholomew Diaz being one of those who perished in the seas he had first laid open to European adventure. The captives carried off by De Gama were restored by Cabral, and their representations of the honourable treatment they had received in Portugal, together with costly presents of vessels of gold and silver of delicate workmanship, and cloths ingeniously wrought, obtained for the admiral a gracious reception, and permission to establish a factory at Calicut. Cabral endeavoured to ingratiate himself still further by intercepting and driving into the harbour or roadstead of Calicut a large vessel, then passing from the neighbouring port of Cochin, laden with a rich cargo, including seven elephants, one of which the zamorin had vainly endeavoured to pur-

non—spreading the terror of their name over the whole African sea-coast: their power has dwindled away like a snow-ball in the sun; and now only enough remains to bear witness of lost dominion. Five-and-twenty years since, when serving in the navy, I visited the great fortress of Mozambique, where we landed the marines of our frigate to prevent the governor-general (then newly-arrived from Lisbon) being massacred by a horde of savages. At Delagoa, Inhamban, Sofala, and other places, the Portuguese governor and officers were unwilling to venture beyond the reach of the rusty cannon on the walls of their dilapidated forts.

† Military class of Malabar, of the Soodra cast.

|| According to Sousa. Castanheda says, 108.

* This designation seems frequently applied to Arabian and African Mohammedans, in contradistinction to Moguls and Patans. Sousa speaks of them as "inhabiting from Choul to Cape Comorin."

† Prince Henry's characteristic motto, "*Talent de bien faire*," was sadly misapplied by the Portuguese commanders, who, almost without exception, treated the natives of newly-discovered territories with such shameless cruelty, that their skill and courage fails to disguise the fact, that they were little else than pirates and robbers on an extensive scale;—worse than all, they were stealers of men; and thereby guilty of a crime which could not and did not fail to bring a curse upon their nation. In vain they strove to strengthen themselves with forts and can-

chase; but this unscrupulous use of power gave alarm rather than satisfaction, and added weight to the arguments of the Moors, regarding the danger of encouraging such officious interlopers. The result was, that the Portuguese, unable to effect any purchases from the native merchants, in their impatience construed a hasty expression, dropped by the zamorin when wearied by their solicitations and complaints, into permission to seize a Moorish cargo of rich spices, on condition of the payment of an equitable price. This outrage provoked the resentment of both the Moors and the Hindoo inhabitants of Calicut. The newly-erected factory was broken open, and out of its seventy occupants, fifty-one were killed, the remainder escaping only by leaping into the sea, and swimming to their boats. Cabral retaliated by the capture and destruction of ten Moorish ships, seizing the cargoes, and detaining the crews as prisoners. Then, bringing his squadron as close as possible to the shore, he opened a furious discharge of artillery upon the city, and having set it on fire in several places, sailed southward to Cochin, whose ruler, having rebelled against the zamorin, gladly embraced the offer of foreign commerce and alliance. Here an abundant supply of pepper, the commodity chiefly desired by the Europeans, was obtained, and Cabral returned to Lisbon, taking the opportunity of a favourable wind to avoid a fleet of sixty sail, sent against him from Calicut. It was now manifest that the aggressive policy of the Portuguese could succeed only if powerfully supported; and Emanuel being desirous, in the words of Faria y Sousa, "to carry out what the apostle St. Thomas had begun," during his alleged visit to India, resolved, at all hazards, to avail himself of the papal grant to Portugal of all the eastern regions discovered by her fleets, and tenanted by infidels. He assembled a larger armament than had yet been sent into the eastern seas, and assuming the title of "Lord of the navigation, conquest, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India," dispatched Vasco de Gama to enforce his authority. The conduct of the envoy was marked by the most savage cruelty. On the coast of Arabia he met and captured a large Moorish ship, seized its stores, shut up the crew in the hold, and set it on fire. Appearing before Calicut, he collected fifty Indians from several captured vessels, and in consequence of some delay which oc-

curred during a negotiation, opened by his demand of compensation for the destruction of the factory and its occupants, he took up an hour-glass, and declared, that unless the matter were settled before the sand had passed through, the prisoners should all be massacred. This savage threat he fulfilled to the letter, flinging on shore the heads, hands, and feet of the wretched victims: after pouring a destructive fire on the city, he proceeded to Cochin and Cananore, cemented the Portuguese alliance with the rulers of these territories, and then returned to Lisbon, leaving a squadron of five vessels under his uncle, Vincente Sodre, to blockade the Red Sea, exclude the hostile Moors from any communication with the coast of Malabar, and do what he could to protect the allies of Portugal against the anger of their liege lord, the zamorin. Instead of following these injunctions, Sodre engaged in piratical pursuits, and at length perished in a violent storm. Triumpara, rajah of Cochin, was left to make his own defence, and being driven from his capital, took refuge in the isle of Vaipcen, whose natural strength and sacred character would probably not have sufficed to ensure him a safe asylum but for the succour that arrived from Portugal, one detachment being sent under the afterwards famous Alphonso Albuquerque, another under his brother Francisco, and a third under Antonio Saldanha. With their assistance, Triumpara was replaced on his throne, and peace concluded with Calicut, but soon broken by the outrageous conduct of the Portuguese. The Albuquerques, after endeavouring to intimidate the zamorin into a renewal of the violated treaty, set sail for Europe,* leaving Duarte Pacheco with four vessels and a few hundred men to assist in guarding their ally, the rajah of Cochin.

The struggle that ensued afforded the first notable instance of the superiority of a small force, strengthened by European strategy and discipline, over an unwieldy Indian host, and may be said to have laid the foundation of Portuguese power in India. Pacheco was skilful and resolute: Triumpara confided to him the sole direction of the defence to be made against the advancing naval and military armament of the zamorin; and the well-directed fire of his little squadron enabled him to obtain a complete triumph, which was greatly facilitated

* Alphonso reached Europe safely. Francisco, with the ships under his command, is supposed to have perished in a storm near Melinda, in Africa.

by a destructive sickness that broke out among the enemy, and compelled their retreat to Calicut.* Pacheco was, perhaps, the ablest as well as the most humane and disinterested of the commanders of his nation in India; for no other, not even Albuquerque, obtained such uniform success with such inadequate means. It would have been good policy to have left him in the position he had so well filled; instead of which, he was superseded by Lope Soares. On returning to Portugal, he was treated by Emanuel with well-merited distinction; and his disregard of his own interests, and zeal for the public service, were rewarded by the appointment of governor of El Mina, the chief settlement on the African coast; but a violent faction being there raised against him, he was sent home in chains, imprisoned for years, and although at length honourably acquitted, suffered to die in poverty and neglect.

In 1505, Francisco de Almeida arrived off Malabar, attended by a powerful fleet, and dignified with the new and pompous title of viceroy of India. A more formidable opposition than any heretofore encountered now awaited the Portuguese, in the combination formed against them by Mahmood Begarra, of Guzerat, with the Mameluk sultan of Cairo, and the angry and disappointed Venetians. The sultan, incensed by the diminution of his revenues, by the shameful piracies committed on his vessels, and by the barbarous massacre of pilgrims on their way to Mecca (whose cause every zealous Mohammedan identifies with his own), equipped twelve large ships in the Red Sea,† and placed them under an officer named Meer Hocem, with orders for the extirpation of the infidel invaders from the whole face of the eastern seas. Malek Eiaz, the viceroy of Diu, was sent by Mahmood to join the Mameluks, with an assemblage of vessels, inferior in size, but greater in number; and the combined force fell upon the Portuguese squadron anchored off Choul with such effect, that the young commander, Lorenzo, the only son of Almeida, seeing no prospect of successful resistance, and his chief officers, like himself, being wounded, resolved to take advantage

of a favourable tide and proceed out to sea. The movement was commenced at midnight, and went on favourably until the ship in which Lorenzo sailed ran foul of some fishing stakes. The enemy having discovered the manœuvre, pressed on in pursuit, while ineffectual attempts were made to free the intercepted vessel. Lorenzo was entreated to enter a boat and escape to the fleet; but he refused to forsake his companions, and drawing them up in fighting order, resolved to hold out, if possible, until the advancing tide should float them out to sea. Hostile ships, bristling with cannon, bore down on the devoted band, and destroyed their last hope by opening upon them a tremendous fire. A ball in the thigh incapacitated Lorenzo for movement; but he caused himself to be lashed to the mast, whence he continued to direct and cheer his men till another shot struck him on the breast, and terminated at once his struggles and his life.‡ The crew, though reduced from one hundred to twenty men, and all wounded, were still disposed to resist the boarding of their vessel; but Malek Eiaz, by gentleness and promises of good treatment, prevailed on them to surrender; and by his after-conduct, amply redeemed his pledge. In truth, Eiaz appears to be almost the only Mohammedan commander of his age and country, who in any degree inherited the chivalry which romance and even history have associated with Saracen leaders in the time of the Crusades. He addressed Almeida in terms of the most delicate condolence, expressing earnest admiration of the valour of his lost son; but the veteran sternly replied, that he considered excellence more to be desired than long life, and saw no cause for lamentation in the glorious death of one who was doubtless now enjoying the reward of his good conduct. This semblance of resignation imposed no restraint upon the burning impatience with which he prepared for vengeance. When about to depart at the head of a fleet of nineteen ships, an unexpected event deranged his plans, and inflicted a blow which he bore with far less dignity than he had done his late bereavement. This was nothing less than his recall and supercession

* Both Moors and Hindoos were provided with cannon before the arrival of the Portuguese, though they do not appear to have been skilful in its use.

† The Venetians sent the timber from the forests of Dalmatia, by way of Alexandria and the Nile. Venetian carpenters built the fleet, which was strongly manned with choice Turkish soldiers.

‡ Sousa says, his countrymen lost 140 men in this engagement, and the enemy 600. Unfortunately, we cannot check the Portuguese accounts by those of their foes, because the Mohammedan historians of the Deccan have rarely thought fit to narrate their contests with these "foreign idolaters," whom they affected to treat with contemptuous indifference.

by Alphonso Albuquerque, who arrived in 1506, bearing a commission as governor-general of India.* Almeida positively refused to resign his command until he should have avenged his son's death by the destruction of the hostile fleet. Being supported in his disobedience to the royal mandate by several leading officers, he refused to allow Albuquerque even to take part in the intended expedition, and sailed off to attack Dabul, a leading emporium, which had zealously embraced the Egyptian cause. The troops disembarked at Diu, notwithstanding the discharge of powerful batteries; for these, having rather a high range, passed over the soldiers' heads as they landed in boats, without inflicting any injury. Once on shore, a deadly conflict commenced with the bodies of armed citizens who blocked up the narrow passages to the town: these were at length overpowered; and by the orders of the merciless victor, an indiscriminate slaughter ensued. The streets streamed with blood, and the distracted multitudes fled to the caves of the neighbouring mountains, finding that even buildings consecrated to the service of the One Universal Lord afforded no refuge from the lust and fury of the savage men who dared to cast dishonour on the great name of the Redeemer, by styling themselves disciples and propagators of a faith whose very essence is peace and love. This disgraceful scene had a suitable conclusion; for Almeida, unable to withdraw his troops from their horrible employment, resorted to a violent method of restoring some degree of discipline, by causing the town to be set on fire. The flames extended rapidly over the light timber roofs, and after reducing the stately city to a pile of smoking wood and ashes, reached the harbour. The native shipping was destroyed; the Portuguese vessels with difficulty escaped, and proceeded to the Gulf of Cambay. Here Almeida attacked the combined fleet, and gained a great but costly victory. The Mameluk portion was completely destroyed, and Malek Eiaz compelled to sue for peace. Almeida stipulated for the surrender of Meer Hoem; but Eiaz indignantly refused to betray his ally, and would offer no further concession as the price of peace than the freedom of all European captives. Having no power of enforcing other terms, Almeida was com-

pelled to accept these; but unsoftened by the kindness which the surviving companions of his son had received from their brave captor, the Portuguese admiral filled the measure of his barbarities by causing his prisoners to be shut up in the prize vessels and burnt with them. "Many," says Faria y Sousa, "judged the unhappy end of the viceroy and other gentlemen to be a just punishment of that crime." If so, it was not long delayed. On the return of Almeida to Cochin, a contest seemed about to commence with Albuquerque for the possession of the supreme authority. At this crisis, Ferdinand Coutinho, a nobleman of high character, arrived in command of fifteen ships and a large body of troops, having been opportunely dispatched by Emanuel, with powers to act in the very probable conjuncture which had actually arisen. By his mediation, Almeida was induced to resign the vicerealty, and set sail for his native country, which he never lived to reach,—he, who had brought so many to an untimely end, himself suffering a violent death at the hands of some Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, of whose cattle the Portuguese had attempted to take forcible possession.†

Albuquerque was now left to carry out unchecked his ambitious schemes. He commenced by the assault of Calicut (January, 1510), in conjunction with Coutinho, who, being about to return to Portugal, vehemently urged his claim to be allowed to take the lead on this occasion. As the city could only be approached through narrow avenues, amidst thick woods, in which the whole army had not room to act, it was arranged that the two commanders should advance, at day-break on the following morning, in separate divisions. That of Albuquerque took the lead, and obtained possession of a fortified palace (previously fixed upon as the first object of assault) before the rival party reached the spot. Coutinho, greatly annoyed at being thus anticipated, reproached Albuquerque with a breach of faith, and declaring that he would not be again forestalled, made his way through the streets of Calicut to the chief palace, which lay on the other side of the city, and formed a little town, enclosed by a wall. Being the only regular fortification in the place, it was defended by the main strength of the army; but Coutinho succeeded in forcing open the gates, and acquired possession of the whole enclosure. Flushed with victory, he gave his men full

* The office of viceroy and governor-general was the same, though the title differed.

† Vide *British Possessions in Africa*, vol. iii., p. 4.

license to plunder, and withdrew, to seek rest and refreshment in the state apartments. This over-confidence afforded the Hindoos time to recover from their consternation; and a cry, uttered by one of the chief nairs, passed from mouth to mouth, to the distance of several miles, until 30,000 armed men had assembled, and in turn, surprised the invaders. Albuquerque, who occupied the city, vainly strove to maintain the communication with the fleet: he was hemmed in with his troops in the narrow lanes and avenues, and exposed to a continued shower of arrows and stones, one of which felled him to the ground. The soldiers set fire to the adjacent buildings, and escaped to the ships, bearing away their commander in a state of unconsciousness. Coutinho was less fortunate. When, after neglecting repeated warnings, at last roused by the clash of arms to the actual state of the case, he sprang to the head of his troops, and fought with the fury of desperation, striving not to retain possession of the place—for that was manifestly impossible—but only to cut a path to the shore. In this the majority of the common soldiers succeeded; but Coutinho, with Vasco Sylveira, and other nobles of distinction, were left dead on the field. Out of 1,600 Portuguese (according to De Barros), eighty were killed, and 300 wounded. This disastrous commencement, so far from checking, only served to increase the desire of Albuquerque for territorial dominion, in opposition to the policy previously pursued by Almeida, who had considered that factories, guarded by a powerful fleet, would better suit the purposes of commerce, and be less likely to excite enmity.

Disappointed in the hope of gaining possession of the capital of the zamorin, he looked round for some other city which might form the nucleus of a new empire; for as yet, notwithstanding their high-sounding titles, the Portuguese had but a precarious tenure, even of the land on which their few forts and factories were erected. A useful, though not creditable ally, Timojce, a Hindoo pirate, directed his attention to Goa, then comprehended in the kingdom of Beejapoor. The city was taken by surprise in the early part of 1510; recaptured a few months later by Yusuf Adil Shah, in person; and finally conquered by

Albuquerque, at the close of the same year. The contest was prolonged and sanguinary; and the after-slaughter must have been terrific,—since, according to Sousa, “not one Moor was left alive in the island.”* The Hindoos were treated very differently; for Albuquerque, with a politic view to the consolidation of his newly-acquired power, confirmed them in their possessions, and promoted the intermarriage of their women with the Portuguese by handsome dowries, at the same time proving his confidence in his new subjects, by employing them in both civil and military capacities. A large quantity of cannon and military stores were captured in Goa, and probably assisted in furnishing the fortifications raised by him in that city; and also in fitting out an armament, comprising 800 Portuguese and 600 Indians, with which Albuquerque proceeded to attack Malacca. This kingdom was then of great importance, being what Singapore is now—namely, the chief mart of the commerce carried on between Hindoostan, China, and the eastern islands. The inhabitants made a vigorous resistance with cannon and floats of wild-fire, and defended their streets by mining with gunpowder; but they were overpowered by the Portuguese, who gained complete possession of the city, and immediately began to erect a strong fort from the ruins of the shattered palaces, and take other measures for the permanent establishment of their supremacy. Negotiations were opened with Siam, Java, and Sumatra; and friendly embassies are even asserted to have been dispatched from these countries in return. The restless sword of Albuquerque next found employment in the defence of Goa, where tranquillity was no sooner restored, than he resumed his plans of distant conquest; and after two unsuccessful attempts upon Aden, assembled 1,500 European and 600 Asiatic troops, in pursuit of the darling object of his ambition—the conquest of Ormuz, the famous emporium of the Persian Gulf. This he appears to have accomplished with little difficulty, by working upon the fears and weakness of the sovereign, who felt quite incapable of combating a formidable force, led by a commander whose ability was more than equalled by his ruthless severity;† and Ormuz, notwithstanding the counter-

ments. Among many instances, may be cited that of his sending Portuguese renegades back to their country with their ears, noses, right-hands, and thumbs of the left hand cut off. His passions were

* *Portuguese Asia*, vol. i., p. 172.

† After making large allowance for the barbarities common to his age and nation, Albuquerque seems to have been more than usually cruel in his punish-

intrigues of the Persian ambassador, fell an easy prize into the hands of the Portuguese. Albuquerque, delighted with his success, prepared to return to Goa, there to superintend the consolidation of the dominion he had gained, and at the same time recruit his own strength, after toils calculated to increase the burden of advancing years. These anticipations were suddenly dashed to the ground by tidings which reached him while sailing along the coast of Cambay. He who had superseded Almeida, was now himself to be ignominiously displaced by a new governor—Lope Soares, who, to make the blow more galling, was his personal and bitter foe. There was no letter, nor any mark of respect or sympathy from the king, and no reason assigned for his removal; probably none existed beyond the malice of his foes, in suggesting that the powerful viceroy might not long continue a subject. New officers were nominated to the chief vessels and forts, selected from the party known to be hostile to his interests; and even men whom he had sent home prisoners for heinous crimes, returned with high appointments. The adherents of Albuquerque rallied round him, and strove to induce him to follow the example of many Asiatic governors, by asserting his independence; but he rejected the temptation, declaring that the only course now left him consistent with his honour, which through life had been his first care, was to die. Then giving way to profound melancholy, and refusing food or medicine, he soon found the death he ardently desired, expiring upon the bar of Goa (which he had called his land of promise) in December, 1515, in the sixty-third year of his age. While writhing under the torment of a wounded spirit, he was prevailed upon to address a few proud and pathetic lines of farewell to his sovereign, commending to his favour the son whom he had left in Portugal. "As for the affairs of India," he added, "they will speak for themselves and me." This was no empty boast; for in five years, Albuquerque had raised the maritime power of his nation in the East, to a point which, in spite of many

changes and conflicts, it never far surpassed. The prize thus acquired was little less than the monopoly of commerce between Europe and India, which was maintained for upwards of a century. Faria y Sousa, indeed, boasts that the empire of his countrymen stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China, and comprehended a coast 12,000 miles in extent; but this simply signifies, that upon this immense sea-line, they alone, of the nations of Europe, had established factories. Of these there were, in all, about thirty—in some cases 1,000 miles apart; and of the surrounding country they rarely possessed anything beyond that which their walls encircled. In India, Goa was the great seat of their influence: they there obtained possession of an area, extending, at a subsequent period, over above 1,000 square miles. The town of Cochin may be said to have been under their control, and probably also that of Cananore; but both these small states continued to retain their native rajahs. Peace had been concluded with Calicut in 1513, and a fortified factory erected there: they possibly, also, established a few insignificant trading depôts on other parts of the coast. Had the management of affairs continued to be entrusted to such men as Albuquerque, it is probable that the struggle, already commenced with the Mohammedans by the seizure of Goa, would have continued until the Portuguese had really acquired extensive territorial sovereignty; but as it was, the high-sounding title of the viceroy or governor-general of India, was quite inconsistent with his actual position as ruler of a few scattered settlements, held at all times on a very precarious tenure.

Lope Soares, the new governor, presented a strong contrast to his predecessor. Albuquerque was a man of middle stature, with a long white beard, which, for a characteristic reason, had been suffered to grow until it reached his girdle, where he wore it knotted.* When not clouded by fierce and too frequent paroxysms of passion, his countenance was pleasing, and his manner

unrestrained, after his nephew, Antonio de Noronha, was slain in action; this youth having, according to Faria y Sousa, exercised a very salutary influence over his temper through his affections.

* When on his way to supersede Almeida, he attacked Ormuz, and there committed great cruelties, such as cutting off the hands, ears, and noses of persons carrying provisions into the city. Being compelled to raise the siege by the valour of Khojeh

Atar, the governor or regent for the young king, the enraged Albuquerque swore, that his beard should never be cut, until he should sit, for that purpose, on the back of his adversary. The opportunity never appears to have arrived (for the name of Khojeh Atar is not even mentioned in the account of the eventual seizure of Goa); and Albuquerque carried to his grave a mortifying memorial of the folly of rash vows.—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. i., p. 178.)

frank and courteous: to the native princes especially he maintained a respectful demeanour, which rendered him popular even with those who had little real cause for regarding him with a friendly eye. Soarez, according to Faria y Sousa, "was a comely man, with very red hair," and a haughty and repulsive bearing. His covetous and grasping conduct set an example which was speedily followed; and the whole body of the military began to trade, or rather plunder, each one on his own account, with an utter disregard for the public service. The main-spring of the mischief was in Portugal, where, instead of selecting men of tried ability and rectitude, birth or patronage became the first requisite for an office, in which the formula of installation required from the successful candidate a solemn asseveration, that he had made no interest to procure that employment. "How needless the question!" exclaims Faria y Sousa, "how false the oath!" Even if a good governor were appointed by a happy accident, or in a moment of urgent necessity, he could hope to effect little permanent reform; for in the event of his sending home officers charged with the most outrageous offences, they, if men of wealth, however acquired, were sure of a favourable hearing at court, and their representations would probably succeed even in procuring the downfall of their more righteous accuser.

It is quite unnecessary to follow in detail the hostilities in which the Portuguese became involved with the natives of every place where they had established themselves, being, in some cases, completely expelled; in others, barely tolerated: thus fulfilling the prophecy of one of the despised Hindoos,—that "whatever they gained as courageous soldiers, they would lose as covetous merchants;"* and it might with truth have been added, as persecuting bigots: for the injunctions given to the eight Franciscan friars attached to Cabral's expedition, to "carry fire and the sword into every country which should refuse to listen to their preaching,"† were not neglected by their successors.

The administration of Soarez, though generally disastrous,‡ was distinguished by

* Sousa adds, "Who was most barbarous—he that said this, or they who did what he said?"

† *De Barros and Faria y Sousa*, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ The wrath excited by the piratical seizure of two ships, caused the expulsion of the Portuguese from Bengal, where they wished to establish factories.

§ Surat (according to Sousa), when attacked in 1530,

the erection of a fort and factory in the territory of the king of Columbo, in Ceylon (A.D. 1517), from whom, though he had from the first traded amicably with them, the Portuguese now exacted a yearly tribute of 1,200 quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and sapphires, and six elephants. It is probable this payment could not be enforced, as the fort itself was abandoned, in 1524, as not worth the keeping, by Vasco de Gama, who was sent out as viceroy in that year. His tenure of office lasted but three months, being terminated by death on Christmas Eve. Sousa describes De Gama as a man of "middle size, somewhat gross, and of a ruddy complexion;" of a dauntless disposition; capable of enduring extraordinary fatigue; prompt and resolute in the execution of justice. Even during his mortal sickness the veteran discoverer zealously exerted himself to put down piracy by sea and speculation by land, preparatory to the execution of greater designs; but the temporary check given to long-permitted malpractices was soon over-stepped; and the dissensions arising from the unbridled lust and avarice of the Portuguese reached such a height, that had the natives combined together against them, their total expulsion would seem to have been very practicable. The zamorin succeeded in driving them from Calicut, which they quitted after performing the humiliating task of destroying their own fortifications.

Nuno da Cunha was sent out in 1529. He was then forty-two years of age, tall, and well-proportioned, with a fair complexion and black beard, but disfigured by the loss of an eye. His reputation for justice and moderation, though probably deserved, so far as his countrymen were concerned, ill accords with the character of his foreign policy; for during his administration a series of unprovoked outrages of the most disgraceful character were committed on the territories of neighbouring rulers. The coast of Guzerat was ravaged in 1530; towns and villages, including Surat,§ Dammaun, and others of note, were plundered and burned; the adjacent land bereft of every semblance of cultivation; and the wretched inhabitants carried off as slaves.|| contained "ten thousand families, mostly handicrafts, and all of no courage;" it was taken almost without resistance, "and nothing left in it that had life, or was of value. Then the city, and some ships that lay in the arsenal, were burnt."

|| The result of a single incursion on the coast of Diu was "the obtainment of 4,000 slaves and an

In the two following years an expedition was carried out, which, though unsuccessful in its main object—the taking of Diu—resulted in the capture of the strong island of Beth, seven leagues distant: the whole of the towns on the Maharashtra coast, from Chicklee Tarapoor to Bassein, were burned, and contributions levied from Tanna and Bombay. The contest between Bahadur Shah and the Moguls, drove the former into a compromise with his European foes, whose assistance against the emperor, Humayun, he purchased by granting the long-desired permission to build a fort at Diu,* and by the cession of Bassein in perpetuity, with authority to levy duties on the trade with the Red Sea. The circumstances connected with the assassination of Bahadur by the Portuguese have been already repeatedly mentioned.† The immediate consequence was their occupation of Diu, where they obtained some treasure and an extraordinary amount of cannon and military stores.

In September, 1538, a determined attempt to recover Diu was made by a force levied in Guzerat, through the exertions of a Moorish chief, named Khojeh Zofar, and supported by a squadron dispatched by the Grand Seignior, under the command of Solyman Pasha, the governor of Cairo. The small and sickly garrison of the fort defended themselves with desperate valour; and the women, incited by the enthusiasm of Donna Isabella de Vega (the wife of the governor), and others, bore their part in the danger and fatigue, by taking upon themselves the task of repairing the works shattered by the incessant fire of the batteries. Attempts to carry the fortress by storm were continued during two months, and the besieged were well nigh exhausted, only forty men remaining fit for duty, when, to their joyful surprise, want of union in the camp of the enemy, added probably to ignorance of the straits to which they were reduced, led Solyman to abandon the enterprise on the very eve of success. During his way to Egypt he committed great cruelties on the Portuguese whom he found at different infinite booty." The fleet, as reviewed in 1531, consisted of "above four hundred sail, many large, more indifferent, and the greatest number small: several of them were only sutlers, fitted out by the natives for private gain," and manned by 3,600 soldiers, 1,450 Portuguese seamen, 2,000 Malabars and Canarese, 8,000 slaves, and 5,000 seamen.—(*Sousa*, vol. i. p. 347.) Nuno is also described as employing as sailors "1,000 Lascarines of the country."

* *Sousa* relates a feat, performed on this occasion by a Portuguese, named Botello, who, hoping to

ent Arabian ports, putting 140 of them to death, and causing their heads, ears, and noses to be salted, and so preserved for the gratification of the Grand Turk. This at least is the story told by *Sousa*, who departs from his usual moderation in describing this formidable foe to his nation, representing him as ill-favoured, short and corpulent—"more like a beast than a man." Although eighty years of age, and unable to rise without the assistance of four servants, he obtained the command of the recent expedition, by reason of the enormous wealth gathered by oppression, which enabled him to furnish the shipping at his own cost. At length a career of crime was terminated by suicide, committed in a paroxysm of envy and wounded pride.

The reason of succour not having been dispatched from Goa to Diu, was the unsettled state of affairs occasioned by the recall of Nuno da Cunha, whose ten years' administration was brought to a close as abrupt and humiliating as that of Albuquerque. His aggressive policy is quite unjustifiable; but as King John III. was little disposed to be critical on that account, the perfect disinterestedness and energy of the governor had merited honour rather than disgrace.

Like many other of the world's great men, who have thought to serve their country at the expense of duty to God and the common rights of mankind, Nuno discovered his error too late: he fell sick, and died on the voyage to Portugal, the body being committed to the deep, in compliance with the command of the disappointed statesman, that his ungrateful country should not have his bones.

The next memorable epoch in Indo-Portuguese annals, is formed by the administration of Martin Alonzo de Sousa, which commenced in 1542, and lasted about three years, during which brief period, his fierce, bigotted, and grasping conduct completely neutralised the beneficial effect of the efforts of his immediate predecessor, Stephen de Gama.‡ War again commenced with the neighbouring rulers: cities were destroyed, regain the favour of King John by being the first to communicate the welcome news, set out from India with five Europeans and some slaves, in a barque, 16 feet long, 9 broad, and 4½ deep. The slaves mutined, and were all slain: the Europeans held on their course without sailors or pilot, and after enduring great hardships, arrived at Lisbon.

† *Ibid* preceding section, pp. 85—103.

‡ The son of Vasco held sway during two years. In evidence of his disinterestedness, it is said that he left India 40,000 crowns poorer than he entered it.

together with every living thing they contained;* temples were despoiled, and cruelty and corruption reigned undisguised. François Xavier, one of the earliest Jesuits, had come to India with De Sousa. He exerted himself strenuously in representing the impolicy of the course pursued, which, if not checked, threatened to cause the downfall of Portuguese power throughout Asia; but his arguments appear to have been unheeded. The king of Guzerat, forced into a renewal of hostilities, co-operated with his old ally Khojeh Zofar, who again besieged the fort of Diu, A.D. 1515. The blockade lasted eight months, and was carried on after the death of Khojeh Zofar (whose head and hand were carried away by a cannon-ball) by his son, entitled Rumi Khan. Provisions became so scarce, that noxious vermin were used for food; while "a crow taken upon the dead bodies was a dainty for the sick, and sold for five crowns." The ammunition was almost spent, and the soldiers exhausted with fatigue. The women displayed the same determination as on a previous occasion, and the fort was maintained until the new governor, Don Juan de Castro, arrived to its relief. On his way he captured several ships in the vicinity of Damaun, and "cutting the Moors that were in them in pieces, threw them into the mouths of the rivers, that the tide carrying them up, they might strike a terror in all that coast." Ansoete and other towns were destroyed, and "the finest women of the Brahmins and Baniams slaughtered." In fact, these butchers spared neither youth nor beauty, age nor infirmity; the sanctity of cast, nor the innocence of childhood. After raising the siege of the fort, the city of Diu became the scene of a fierce conflict, in which, when the Portuguese wavered, the favourite expedient was resorted to of holding up a crucifix as an incitement to renewed exertion. The sword was a favourite means of conversion with Romish missionaries; priestly robes and warlike weapons were quite compatible; and, on the present occasion, one Fra Antonio played a leading part. The result is best told in the words of the historian above quoted, and may serve to illustrate the manner in which hostilities were conducted by his countrymen, under the personal

leadership of a governor whose administration is generally considered one of peculiar prosperity and honour. An arm of the desecrated symbol was shattered in the contest, upon which "the priest, calling upon the men to revenge that sacrilege, they fell on with such fury, that having done incredible execution, they drove the enemy to the city, who still gave way, facing us. The first that entered the city with them was Don Juan, then Don Alvaro and Don Emanuel de Lima, and the governor, all several ways, making the streets and houses run with blood. The women escaped not the fate of the men, and children were slain at their mothers' breasts, one stroke taking away two lives. The first part of the booty was precious stones, pearls, gold and silver; other things, though of value, were slighted as cumbersome. * * * Of the Portuguese, 100 were killed; others say only thirty-four: of the enemy, 5,000 [including Rumi Khan and others of note.] Free plunder was allowed. * * * There were taken many colours, forty pieces of cannon of an extraordinary bigness, which, with the lesser, made up 200, and a vast quantity of ammunition."†

After this "glorious victory," thirty ships were sent to devastate the Cambay coast: the people fled in alarm from the burning towns and villages, and took refuge in the mountain caves. The inhabitants of a city, called Goga, while sleeping in imagined security, a league distant from their ruined homes, were surprised at night, and all put to the sword. The cattle in the fields were either killed or ham-strung. In the various vessels captured along the coast of Baroach, the same system of general massacre was carried out; and the groves of palm-trees, which afford, in many places, the sole article of subsistence, were systematically destroyed.

The governor returned in triumph to Goa, crowned with laurel, preceded by Fra Antonio and his crucifix, and followed by 600 prisoners in chains, the royal standard of Cambay sweeping the ground. The streets were hung and carpeted with silk, scattered over with gold and silver leaves. The ladies threw flowers at the feet of the conqueror, and sprinkled sweet-scented waters as he passed their windows. This ovation, whether designed to gratify individual vanity,

* The rani, or queen of a small raj or kingdom, situated on the Canarese coast, having refused to pay tribute to the Portuguese, was punished by the destruction of her capital, Batecala. "The city," says Faria y Sousa, "ran with the blood of all living

creatures before it was burnt; then the country was laid waste, and all the woods cut down."—(Vol. ii., p. 71.) Other small Hindoo states are mentioned by Sousa as personally defended by female sovereigns.

† Faria y Sousa, vol. ii., pp. 110 to 113.

or with the idea of making an impression on the natives, was rendered the more unseemly by the fact, that Don Fernando, the son of the governor, had perished during the siege of Diu. The sway of De Castro lasted only from 1515 to 1518. Notwithstanding his sanguinary proceedings, he appears to have been solicitous for the interests of commerce, and perfectly disinterested; for, instead of having amassed wealth, like many other governors of equally short standing, he was so poor, that in his last illness provision was made for him out of the public revenue.* The cause of his death, at forty-seven years of age, is said by Faria y Sousa to have been "grief for the miserable estate to which India was reduced"—a statement reconcilable with other accounts of this period, only by supposing that amid seeming prosperity, De Castro foresaw the end of an oppressive and corrupt system.

The invasion of Sind, in 1556, under the administration of Francisco Barreto, is alleged to have been provoked by the fickleness of its ruler, who first solicited and then refused Portuguese co-operation, thus affording a pretext for his intended auxiliaries to pillage his capital (Tatta), kill 8,000 persons, and destroy by fire "to the value of above two millions of gold," after loading their vessels with one of the richest booties they had ever taken in India. Eight days were spent in ravaging the country on both sides of the Indus, after which the fleet returned, having, it would appear, scarcely lost a man. The next exploit was the burning of Dabul and the neighbouring villages, in revenge for the hostility of the king of Beejapoor.

Religious persecution, which seems to have slumbered for a time, awoke with renewed ferocity, and was directed rather against what the Romish priests chose to call heresy, than absolute paganism. An account of the alleged mission of St. Thomas the apostle, and of the Christian church spoken of by Cosmas,† in the sixth century, properly belongs to the section on the religious condition of India. In this place it is sufficient to say, that both on the Malabar coast and in the kingdom of Ethiopia—including the state whose ruler attained such extraordinary celebrity under the name of Prester John—the Portuguese found Christian communities who steadily

refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope; rejected the use of images, together with all dogmas regarding transubstantiation, extreme unction, celibacy of priests, &c., and asked for blessings, whether temporal or eternal, only in the name of the one mediator, Jesus Christ. These "ancient Christians," says Sousa, "disturbed such as were converted from paganism" by Xavier and his fellow-labourers: the Jews also proved a stumbling-block. In 1514, Jerome Diaz, a Portuguese physician of Jewish extraction, was burnt for heresy; and probably many others of less note shared his fate. In 1560, the first archbishop of Goa was sent from Lisbon, accompanied by the first inquisitors, for the suppression of Jews and heretics. Throughout the existence of this horrible tribunal, crimes of the most fearful character were perpetrated; and in the minds alike of the denounced schismatics and of pagans, a deep loathing was excited against their persecutors. The overthrow of the Hindoo kingdom of Beejannuggur, in 1564, by the combined efforts of the four Mohammedan Deccani states, left these latter at liberty to turn their attention more fully towards their European foes; and in 1571, a league was formed against the Portuguese by the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur. The zamorin of Calicut likewise joined them; but from some distrust in his own mind, long withheld his personal co-operation. Ali Adil Shah besieged Goa, sustained great loss, and after ten months was compelled to withdraw without having accomplished anything. Morteza Nizam Shah sustained a mortifying defeat at Choul, and was glad to make peace with the triumphant Portuguese. The zamorin, though last in the field, had the best success, obtaining the surrender of the fort Chale (a few miles from Calicut) from Don George de Castro, who, although eighty years of age, was beheaded at Goa by orders from Portugal, on the ground of having surrendered his charge without sufficient reason.

A change was made in 1571 in the duties of the governor, by the division of authority over Portuguese affairs in Asia into three parts: the first, that of *India*, being made to comprise their possessions situated between Cape Guardafui and Ceylon;‡ the

* He died in the arms of François Xavier. "In his private cabinet was found a bloody discipline (? a scourge) and three royals, which was all his treasure."—(*Faria y Sousa*, vol. ii., p. 129.)

† Surnamed *Indicopleustes*, or the Indian voyager.

‡ The proceedings of the Portuguese in Ceylon are purposely omitted here: they will be narrated in the history of that island.

second, styled *Monomotapa*, extending from Cape Corrientes to Guardafui; the third, or *Malacca*, from Pegu to China. The sway of Portugal was now, however, nearly ended; she had misused the trust committed to her care, and was punished by the suspension of her independence, after maintaining it 500 years. King Sebastian fell in Africa, in 1578, and about two years later, Philip II. of Spain procured the reannexation of Portugal, to which he laid claim in right of his mother, Isabella. In India, the change was only from bad to worse: the furnace of persecution was heated seven times hotter than before. The Syrian Christians of Malabar were cruelly persecuted, their bishop seized and sent to Lisbon, and their churches pillaged; their books, including ancient copies of the Scriptures, burned, while Archbishop Menezes marched, singing a hymn, round the flames (1599.) The Inquisition increased in power; and, perhaps, among all the impious and hateful sacrifices offered up by men given over to dark delusions, never yet did idolatrous pagan, or professed devil-worshipper, pollute this fair earth by any crime of so deep a dye as the hideous *Auto da Fé*, usually celebrated on the first Sundays in Advent.* Dellon, a French physician, who languished two years in the dungeons of Goa, has given a life-like picture of the horrible ceremonials of which he was an eye-witness; and describes his "extreme joy" at learning that his sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley-slave for five years.† He speaks of himself as having heard every morning, for many weeks, the shrieks of unfortunate victims undergoing the *question*; and he judged that the number of prisoners must be very large, because the profound silence which reigned within the walls of the building, enabled him to count the number of doors opened at the hours of meals. At the appointed time, the captives were assembled by their black-robed jailors, and clothed in the *san benito*, a garb of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew before and behind. The relapsed heretics were dressed in the *samarra*, a grey robe, with the portrait of the doomed wearer painted upon it, surrounded by burning torches, flames, and demons; and on their heads were placed sugar-loaf-shaped caps, called

carrochas, on which devils and flames were also depicted. The bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, and the gloomy procession commenced—men and women indiscriminately mixed, walking with bleeding feet over the sharp stones, and eagerly gazed on by innumerable crowds assembled from all parts of India to behold this "act of faith" of a European nation. Sentence was pronounced before the altar in the church of St. Francis, the grand inquisitor and his counsellors sitting on one side, the viceroy and his court on the other; and each victim received the final intimation of his doom by a slight blow upon the breast from the *alcade*. Then followed their immolation, the viceroy and court still looking on while the prisoners were bound to the stake in the midst of the faggots, and hearing, as a periodical occurrence, the shrieks and groans of these unhappy creatures. The vengeance of the Inquisition ceased not even here: the day after the execution, the portraits of the murdered men were carried to the church of the Dominicans, and there kept in memory of their fate; and the bones of such as had died in prison, were likewise preserved in small chests painted over with flames and demons.‡

These are dark deeds which none aspiring to the pure and holy name of Christian can record without a feeling of deep humiliation; but they may not be shrouded in oblivion, since they furnish abundant reason why the mutilated gospel preached by Romish priests made so little permanent impression in India; and, moreover, afford enduring evidence that England, and every other protesting nation, had solid grounds for severance from the polluted and rotten branch which produced such fruit as "the holy Inquisition." In Europe, as in Asia, a light had been thrown on the true nature of the iron yoke, with which an ambitious priesthood had dared to fetter nations in the name of the Divine Master, whose precepts their deeds of pride and cruelty so flagrantly belied. The Reformation, faulty as were some of the instruments concerned in its establishment, had yet taught men to look to the written gospel for those laws of liberty and love which nations and individuals are

* The portion of the gospel read on that day mentions the last judgment; and the Inquisition pretended, by the ceremony, to exhibit an emblem of that awful event.—Wallace's *Memoirs of India*, p. 394.

† Dellon was accused of heresy for having spoken

disparagingly of the adoration of images. He had also grievously offended by calling the inquisitors fallible men, and the "holy office" a fearful tribunal which France had acted wisely in rejecting.

‡ Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. i., chap. iv.

alike bound to observe. Unhappily, this great lesson was but imperfectly learned; for although withheld rights have ever formed a popular theme, the responsibilities those rights involve cannot be expected to commend themselves, save to conscientious and enlightened minds. Thus it proved easier to renounce the dogmas of popery, than to root out the vices it had fostered or permitted; and the very people who had most cause for gratitude in being delivered from the oppressive and arrogant dominion of Spain, became themselves examples of an equally selfish and short-sighted policy.

At this period there were many signs in the commercial horizon, that neither papal bulls, nor the more reasonable respect paid to the claims of discovery and preoccupation, could any longer preserve the monopoly of the Indian trade to Spain and Portugal. Several causes combined for its destruction. The conquest and settlement of America afforded full employment for the ambition and ferocity of Philip II.; and his Asiatic territories were left in the hands of rulers, who, for the most part, thought of nothing but the gratification of their own passions, and the accumulation of wealth;—which latter, by pillage of every description, and by the shameless sale of all offices and positions, they usually contrived to do in the period of two to three years,* which formed the average duration of their tenure of office. It may be readily imagined that the measures of his predecessor were rarely carried out by any governor; but all seem to have agreed in conniving at the most notorious infraction of the general rule which forbade any Portuguese to traffic on his own account, as an unpardonable infringement on the exclusive rights of his sovereign. Corruption, mismanagement, and the growing aversion of the natives, gradually diminished the trade, until the average annual arrival in Lisbon of ships from India was reduced from five to about three; and the annual value of the cargoes decreased in proportion to about a million crowns. Thus, notwith-

standing the royal monopoly of spices, Philip soon found that the expense of maintaining the various Indian governments† exceeded the commercial profits: he therefore made over the exclusive privilege of trading to India, in the year 1587, to a company of Portuguese merchants, on consideration of a certain annual payment; reserving, however, the appointment of governors, the command of the army, and every description of territorial revenue and power. This change in the state of affairs created great excitement and dissatisfaction at Goa. It was evident that the company, if able and willing to enforce the rights bestowed upon them, would reduce the profits of the various officials to their legitimate bounds; and the very thought was intolerable to a community who, "from the viceroy to the private soldier, were all illicit traders, and occasionally pirates."‡ The general disorganisation was increased, in 1591, by the arrival of a papal bull and royal command for the forcible conversion of infidels; which was in effect, free leave and license to every member of the Romish communion to torture and destroy all who differed from them on doctrinal points, and to pillage pagodas or churches, public or private dwellings, at pleasure. Such a course of proceeding could scarcely fail to bring about its own termination; and the strong grasp of tyranny and persecution, though more fierce, was yet rapidly growing weaker, and would probably have been shaken off by the natives themselves, even in the absence of the European rivals who now appeared on the scene. England, under the fostering care of Elizabeth, had already manifested something of the energy which, under the Divine blessing, was to secure to her the supremacy of the ocean; to extend her sway over ancient and populous nations; and to lay the foundation of the greatest colonial empire the world ever saw. This puissance was still in the embryo, and England a little kingdom with a limited trade, when her soldiers and merchants began the

* From the arrival of Almeida in 1505, to 1640 (the period at which Sousa terminates his history), there were some fifty viceroys or governors, of whom a very large proportion (about one-third) died in India or on their voyage home.

† The possessions of Spain and Portugal, at this time, were the forts of Diul (on the Indus) and of Diu; a fortified factory at Damann; the town and castle of Choul; a factory at Dabul; the city of Bassein; the island of North Salsette, and the town of Tanna; the island of Bombay; the city and fort

of Goa; and factories at Onore, Barcelore, Mangalore, Cananore, Calicut, Cranganore, and Quiloa; stations at Negapatam and St. Thomas, or Meliappoor, (on the Coromandel coast); and several commercial posts in Bengal. They had also the port of Cochin; factories, or liberty to trade at Pegu, Martaban, and Junkscylon; held the strongly-fortified town of Malacca, and had, moreover, established themselves at several commanding points in the island of Ceylon. (Bruce's *Annals of East India Company*, vol. i. p. 24.)

‡ Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 32.

struggle with the combined forces of Spain and Portugal, in alliance with a people whose newly-acquired independence had originated in the reaction caused by the corruption and cruelty of the Spanish government, represented by such men as the Duke of Alva, and the bigotry of Rome, represented by such institutions as the Inquisition.*

RISE OF DUTCH POWER.—It was only in the year 1579 that the Netherlanders ventured to defy the power of Philip, and formed themselves into a separate government, which they did not establish without a desperate and prolonged conflict, aided zealously by Elizabeth. Their after-progress was marvellous; and before neighbouring countries had well learned to recognise their new position, the "poor distressed people of Holland" had changed that designation for the "High and Mighty States, the United Provinces." The course that materially aided their rapid advancement was forced upon them by the arbitrary policy of Philip. Having very little land, they had ever mainly depended for subsistence on fisheries, trade, and navigation. While Portugal was a separate kingdom they resorted thither for East India produce, of which they became the carriers to all the northern nations of Europe; and after the annexation of that kingdom to Spain, their ships continued to sail to Lisbon under neutral colours, at which the Portuguese gladly connived. But Philip, hoping to lay the axe to the root of the mercantile prosperity which enabled his former subjects to sustain a costly and sanguinary contest with his mighty armies, compelled the Portuguese to renounce this profitable intercourse,—

laid an embargo on all Dutch ships, seized the cargoes, imprisoned the merchants and ship-masters, or delivered them over as heretics to the tender mercies of the Inquisition, and even forced the mariners and others into his hated service. The Dutch, driven to desperation by an enemy from whom they had all to fear and nothing to hope, incited by the able counsel of Prince Maurice, resolved to attempt procuring the necessary supplies of spices direct from Asia.

With the double inducement of avoiding the fleets which guarded the approach to the Indian seas, and of finding a much shorter route, the Dutch (following the example of various English navigators) strove to discover a north-eastern passage to India,† and in the years 1594, '5, and '6, sent three expeditions for this purpose. All failed, and the last adventurers were compelled to winter on the dreary shores of Nova Zembla. In the meantime some Dutch merchants, not caring to wait the doubtful issue of these attempts, formed themselves into a company, and resolved to brave the opposition of Philip, by commencing a private trade with India *via* the Cape of Good Hope. Four ships were dispatched for this purpose, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman,‡ a Dutch merchant or navigator, well acquainted with the nature and conduct of the existing Indian traffic; and the coast of Bantam (Java) was reached without hindrance, save from the elements.§ Having obtained cargoes, partly by purchase from the natives, but chiefly by plunder from the Portuguese, Houtman returned to the Texel, where, notwithstanding the loss of one of the vessels—a very frequent occurrence in those days,||—the safe arrival of

* Before the people rose against their oppressors, 100,000 of them were judicially slaughtered—the men by fire and sword, and the women by being buried alive.—(*Grotii Annal. Belg.* pp. 15–17.)

† Along the shores of Norway, Russia, and Tartary, to China, and thence into the Indian Ocean.

‡ The manner in which he acquired this knowledge is variously related:—by Savary, as obtained in the Portuguese service; by other authorities, during a long imprisonment at Lisbon; Raynal says for debt; Sallengre, in consequence of the suspicions excited by his inquiries on commercial subjects. His freedom was procured by payment of a heavy fine, subscribed on his behalf by Dutch merchants. (See different accounts, commented on in Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, note to p. 45.)

§ Two of the vessels were 400 tons burthen, carrying each eighty-four men, six large brass cannon, fourteen lesser guns, four great "patereroes" and eight little ones, with "muskets" and small guns in proportion; the third, of 200 tons, had fifty-nine

men, six large cannon, with lesser ones in proportion; the fourth, of thirty tons, with twenty-four men and cannon: the whole carrying 219 mariners. The fleet sailed from the Texel the 2nd of April, 1595; reached Teneriffe on the 19th; St. Jago on the 26th; crossed the equator on the 14th of June; on the 2nd of August doubled the Cape of Good Hope (seamen in great distress with scurvy), and remained some days on the coast: in September, October, and November, the ships were at different parts of Madagascar, and sailed thence on the 1st of December towards Java, which was reached in the middle of January, 1596; thus terminating the first Dutch voyage to the Indian seas.—(See *Collection of Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company*. London translation, 1808.)

|| Linschoten says, that almost every year one or two Portuguese East-Indiamen were lost. Faria y Sousa gives an account of 956 vessels, which sailed from Portugal for India, from 1412 (when Prince Henry first attempted the discovery of a passage by

the remainder was welcomed as an auspicious commencement of the undertaking. Several new companies were formed;—the number of ships annually increased,* and succeeded in obtaining cargoes, notwithstanding the opposition of the Portuguese, who strove, but for the most part ineffectually, to prejudice the natives against their rivals; their own proceedings having been so outrageous, that any prospect of a check or counteraction seemed rather to be courted than avoided. In 1600, not five years after the first expedition under Houtman, forty vessels, of from 400 to 600 tons, were fitted out by the Dutch. Hitherto the Spanish monarch had made no effort to intercept their fleet; but in the following year he dispatched an armament of thirty ships of war, by which eight outward-bound vessels, under the command of Spilbergen, were attacked near the Cape Verd Islands. The skill and bravery of the defendants enabled them to offer effectual resistance, and they succeeded in making their way to India without any serious loss. Philip did not again attempt a naval contest, but made military force the basis of his subsequent efforts for their subjugation; prohibiting them, under pain of corporal punishment, from trading with the Spanish possessions, either in the East or West Indies. These threats proved only an incitement to more determined efforts; and it being evident that the combination of the several Dutch companies would tend to strengthen them against the common foe, they were united, in 1602, by the States-General, and received a charter bestowing on them, for a term of twenty-one years, the exclusive right of trade with India, together with authority to commission all functionaries, civil and military, to form what establishments they pleased, and make war or peace in all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope. From regard to the claims of the proprietors of the minor associations, the new company was divided into six chambers or boards of management, of which Amsterdam and Middleburg were the chief, their share in the funds subscribed being proportionably represented by twenty-

sea) to 1610: of these, 150 were lost, and with them he estimates not less than 100,000 persons—a not improbable number, considering the great size of many of the vessels, which carried 800 or 900 men.

* In 1598, two fleets, consisting of eight vessels, were sent by the Amsterdam merchants from the Texel, and five from Rotterdam, which were followed up by successive fleets in subsequent years, as the

five and twelve directors; the remaining chambers of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuysen having each seven directors: making a total of sixty-five persons, with a capital of 6,440,200 guilders, or (taking the guilder at 1s. 8d.) about £536,600. The project was popular, and brought both money and a valuable class of emigrants into Holland, many opulent merchants of the Spanish provinces in the Netherlands, and of other places, removing with their effects into the Dutch territory. No time was lost in fitting out a fleet of fourteen large ships, well manned, and furnished with soldiers and the necessary military and other stores requisite for the carrying out of the aggressive policy henceforth to be adopted against the national enemies, whom the Dutch had previously shunned rather than courted encountering in their foreign possessions.† The same power, whose co-operation had so materially contributed to the success of their European struggles, now came equally opportunely to their assistance in Asia; for in this same year (1602) the first ships of the first English East India Company appeared in the Indian seas. It may be useful to pause here, and briefly review the circumstances that led to the formation of a body, which, after long years of trial and vicissitude, attained such unexampled and strangely-constituted greatness.

RISE OF ENGLISH POWER.—Before the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, England, like other northern European nations, had been supplied from the Adriatic with Eastern products. A ship of great bulk usually arrived every year from Venice, laden with spice (chiefly pepper)‡ and some other Asiatic commodities, which the traders necessarily sold at high prices, owing to the circuitous route they were compelled to traverse. This state of things terminated with the close of the fifteenth century, by reason of the successful voyage of Vasco de Gama, which gave to Portugal the monopoly of the Asiatic trade. At that very time, the English, stimulated by a strong desire for the extension of com-

trade gave twenty to seventy-five per cent. of profit on the adventures.—(*Voyages of Dutch Company.*)

† The Dutch at first resorted to Sumatra and Java, where the Portuguese do not appear to have had any considerable establishments. Houtman formed a factory at Bantam in 1595.

‡ The spice trade was opened with Amboyna, Ternate, and the Bandas, in 1598: with Sumatra and China, in 1599; with Ceylon, in 1600.

merce, and likewise by curiosity regarding the far-famed country, then called Cathay (China), were themselves attempting the discovery of a sea-passage to India; and in May, 1497, two months before the departure of Vasco, from Lisbon, an expedition comprising two ships fitted out by Henry VII. and some vessels freighted by the merchants of Bristol, left England, under the guidance of an enterprising Venetian navigator, named Giovanni Cavotta, *anglicé*, John Cabot. On reaching 67° 30' N. lat., Cabot was compelled, by the mutinous conduct of his crew, to stand to the southward; and in the course of the homeward voyage he fell in with Newfoundland and the continent of North America. Notwithstanding the discussions which characterised the concluding portion of the reign of Henry VII., and that of his son and successor Henry VIII., several commissions of discovery were issued by them,* but were attended with no important results. The commerce with the Levant appears to have commenced about the year 1511;† in 1513, a consul was stationed at Scio for its protection; and in process of time, the Levant or Turkey merchants came to be looked upon as the true East India traders. Factories were established by them at Alexandria, Aleppo, Damascus, and the different

ports of Egypt and the Turkish dominions. Their growing importance did not however extinguish, but rather increased the general desire for more direct communication with India and China; and in 1549, Sebastian Cabot, the son of John Cabot, who had accompanied his father in the expedition of 1497, and had since attempted the discovery of the much-desired line of route, persuaded a number of London merchants to raise a capital of £6,000 in shares of £25 each, for the prosecution of a new voyage of discovery and trading adventure. The young king Edward VI., to whose notice Sebastian had been previously introduced by the protector Somerset, had bestowed on him an annual pension of £165, and made him grand pilot of England. He now gave every encouragement to the infant association. No time was lost in fitting out three vessels, which were dispatched under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in May, 1553, and furnished with "Letters Missive" from King Edward to the sovereigns of northern Europe, bespeaking their protection for his subjects in their peaceful but perilous enterprise.‡ The court, then at Greenwich, assembled to witness the departure of the little squadron: vast crowds of people lined the shore; and the roar of cannon, and the

* Robert Thorne, an English merchant, having during a long residence at Seville acquired considerable knowledge of the benefits derived by Portugal from the Indian trade, memorialised Henry VIII. on the subject, urging the advantages which England might attain from the same source, and suggesting three courses to be pursued;—either by the north-east, which he imagined would lead them to "the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the mid-day," and thence "to the land of the Chinas and the land of Cathaio Orientali;" from which, if they continued their navigation, they might "fall in with Malacca" and return to England by the Cape of Good Hope. The second course, to the north-west, would lead them, he said, "by the back of the Newfoundland, which of late was discovered by your grace's subjects," and pursuing which they might return through the Straits of Magellan (discovered six years before.) The third course lay over the North Pole, after passing which he suggested that they should "goe right toward the Pole Antaretike, and then decline towards the lands and islands situated between the tropikes and under the equinoctiall;" and "without doubt they shall find there the richest lands and islands of the world of gold, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other things that we here esteeme most."—(Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 255.) The consequence of this memorial was the sending of two vessels by private merchants in 1527, which returned very shortly without success (Hakluyt, iii., 167), and two by the king in the same year, of which one was lost off the north coast of Newfoundland, and the other effected nothing.—(Purchas' *Pilgrims*, iii., 809.)

† Hakluyt states, that between 1511 and 1534, "divers tall ships of London, Southampton, and Bristol had an ordinary and usual trade" to Sicily, Candia, Chios, and somewhiles to Cyprus; as also to Tripoli and Beyrout, in Syria. The exports, as proved by the ledgers of Locke, Bowyer, Gresham and other merchants, were "fine kersies of divers colours, coarse kersies, &c.;" the imports, silks, camlets, rhubarb, malmsey, muscatel, &c. Foreign as well as English vessels were employed, "namely, Candiot, Raguseans, Genouezes, Venetian galliases, Spanish and Portugall ships." (ii., 207.)

‡ The religious spirit in which the project was conceived is forcibly evidenced by the instructions drawn up by Cabot, for what Fuller truly remarks "may be termed the first reformed fleet which had English prayers and preaching therein." (*Worthies of England, Derbyshire*, of which county Willoughby was a native.) Swearing and gambling were made punishable offences, and "morning and evening prayer, with other common services appointed by the king's majesty and laws of this realm to be read and said in every ship daily by the minister in the *Admiral* [flag-ship], and the merchant, or some other person learned in other ships; and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and hearty prayer of the navigants accordingly."—(Hakluyt, i., 251.) This daily prayer on board ship was long an acknowledged duty; and in 1580, in the directions of the Russian company, the mariners are enjoined, as a matter of course, "to observe good order in your daily service and pray unto God; so shall you prosper the better."

shouts of the mariners, filled the air: yet the ceremony seemed inauspicious; for the youthful monarch, on whom the eyes of Protestant Christendom waited hopefully, and who felt so deep an interest in the whole proceeding, lay prostrate in an advanced stage of that insidious disease, which then as now, yearly robbed England of many of her noblest sons and fairest daughters. Sir Hugh, and the whole ship's company of the *Buona Ventura*, were frozen to death near Lapland;* Captain Chancellor, the second in command, reached a Russian port (where Archangel was afterwards built), and proceeded thence to Moscow. The czar, Ivan Vasilievich, received him with great kindness, and furnished him with letters to Edward VI., bearing proposals for the establishment of commercial relations between the two countries. These were gladly accepted by Mary, who had in the interim ascended the throne; and a ratification of the charter promised by Edward to the company was granted by the queen and her ill-chosen consort, in 1554.† Chancellor was again sent out in the following year with agents and factors, and on his return, an ambassador accompanied him to England, in saving whose life in a storm off the Scottish coast, Chancellor lost his own.‡ This is an exceptional instance of encouragement given by the Crown to commercial enterprise during this short and sanguinary reign; nor, indeed, could Mary, as the wife of the bigotted Philip of Spain, herself a stanch and unscrupulous adherent of the Romish creed, be expected to patronize

any adventure likely to trench upon the monopoly which the pope had assumed to himself the power of bestowing on her husband: the only cause for surprise is, that her signature should ever have been obtained to the charter of the Russian company, though probably it was a concession granted to the leading Protestant nobles, whose support she had secured at a critical moment by her promise (soon shamelessly broken) of making no attempt for the re-establishment of a dominant priesthood in England.

It was reserved for her sister and successor Elizabeth, alike free from the trammels of Rome and the alliance of Spain, to encourage and aid her subjects in that course of maritime and commercial enterprise, whose importance she so justly appreciated. The early part of her reign abounded with political and social difficulties;—focs abroad, rebellion in Ireland, discord at home, gave full and arduous employment to the ministers, whose energy and ability best evidenced the wisdom of the mistress who selected and retained such servants. The finances of the nation did not warrant any large expenditure which should necessitate the imposition of increased taxation for an uncertain result: it was therefore from private persons, either individually or in societies, that commercial adventures were to be expected. The Russian company renewed their efforts for the discovery of a north-east passage, and records of several voyages undertaken under their auspices are still extant; but it does not appear that

* When the extreme cold ceased, the peasants of the country found the body of Sir Hugh in his cabin, seated as if in the act of writing his journal, which, with his will, lay before him, and testified his having been alive in January, 1554.

† The Russian company, probably the first chartered joint-stock association on record, exists to the present day—at least in name.

‡ The Russian ambassador, Osep Napea, returned to his own country in the last year of Mary's reign, and was accompanied by Anthony Jenkinson, who represented the company, and was instructed to attempt the extension of their trade through Russia to Persia and Bactria. By permission of the czar, Jenkinson quitted Moscow in April, 1558, and proceeded by Novogorod and the Volga river to Astracan, on the north of the Caspian; he then crossed that sea, and on its southern shores joined a caravan of Tartars, with which he travelled along the banks of the Oxus to Bokhara, and having there obtained much valuable information for his employers, returned to England (by Moscow) in 1560. In the following year, Queen Elizabeth dispatched him with letters to the Sullavi or Sophi, king of Persia (Shah Abbas I.), requesting his sanction for her sub-

jects to open a trade in his dominions for the sale of their goods, and the purchase of raw silk and other commodities. The jealousy and intrigues of some Turkish agents, who were then engaged in concluding a treaty with the Shah at the fortified city of Casvin (where the Persian court then was), frustrated the mission of the English envoy, and even endangered his life; so that he was glad to make his escape through the friendly interposition of the king of Hyrcania, who furnished him with credentials granting various commercial privileges to such English as might desire to traffic in, or traverse his dominions on the southern shore of the Caspian. In 1566, another agent, named Arthur Edwards, was sent to Persia, and succeeded in obtaining from the czar permission for Englishmen to trade in his dominions with immunity from tolls or customs on their merchandise, and protection for their persons and property. In the same year the Russian company obtained from Elizabeth a charter with additional privileges, in reward for their explorations in the Caspian Sea, Armenia, Media, Hyrcania (Astrabad), and Persia, which it was hoped might lead to the ultimate discovery of "the country of Cathaia."—(Hakluyt, i., 414—418.)

either queen or people cared to defy the fleets of Spain by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope, until Sir Francis Drake, in 1577, having fitted out five ships at his own expense, left England and sailed through the straits of Magellan, into the south seas,* where he acquired immense booty from the Spaniards. The news reaching Europe, a strong force was sent to intercept him, but information of the danger enabled him to avoid it by changing his route, and after visiting Ternate (one of the Moluccas), forming a treaty with the king, and taking part in some hostilities between the natives and the Portuguese, Drake shipped a large quantity of cloves, and proceeded round the Cape to England, where he arrived at the close of 1580, with a single shattered vessel, having been the first of his nation to circumnavigate the globe.

The *Turkey Company*, established by charter in 1581, sent four representatives to India, through Syria, Bagdad, and Ormuz, whence they carried some cloths, tin, and other goods to Goa, and proceeded to visit Lahore, Agra, Bengal, Pegu, and Malacca, meeting everywhere with kindness from the natives, and opposition from the Portuguese. Of the envoys, Fitch alone returned to England (in 1591);† Newberry died in the Punjab; Leades, a jeweller by profession, entered the service of the Emperor Akbar; and Storey became a monk at Goa. In 1586, Captain Cavendish commenced his voyage round the globe, and on the way, scrupled not to seize and plunder whenever he had the opportunity, either by sea or land. He returned home in less than two years flushed with success, and some years after attempted a similar privateering expedition (for it was little better), from which he never returned, but died at sea, worn out by a succession of disasters. The voyages of Drake and Cavendish had brought matters to a crisis: the Spanish government complained of the infringement of their exclusive rights of navigating the Indian seas;‡ to which Elizabeth replied—"It is as lawful for my subjects to do this as the Spaniards, since the sea and air are common

to all men." The defeat of the so-called Invincible Armada, in 1588, rendered the English and their brave queen more than ever unwilling to give place to the arrogant pretensions of their foes; and in 1591, some London merchants dispatched three vessels to India by the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Captains Raymond and Lancaster. A contest with some Portuguese ships, though successful, eventually ruined the expedition by the delay it occasioned; one of the vessels was compelled to put back in consequence of the sickness of the crew and the difficulties encountered in weathering the "Cape of Storms;"—the second, under Raymond, is supposed to have perished;—the third, under Lancaster, reached Sumatra and Ceylon, and obtained a cargo of pepper and other spices, but was subsequently lost in a storm at Mona, one of the West India isles. The captain and the survivors of the ship's company were rescued by a French vessel bound to San Domingo, and reached England in May, 1594. In the meanwhile, mercantile enterprise had received a fresh stimulus by the capture of a Portuguese carrack, profanely called *Moede de Dios*, of 1,600 tons burden, with thirty-six brass cannons mounted. This vessel, the largest yet seen in England, was taken by Sir John Burroughs, after an obstinate contest near the Azores, and brought into Dartmouth. The cargo, consisting of spices, calicoes, silks, gold, pearls, drugs, china-ware, &c., was valued by the lowest estimate at £150,000. This display of oriental wealth incited Sir Robert Dudley and some other gentlemen to fit out three ships, which sailed for China in 1596, bearing royal credentials addressed to the sovereign of that country, vouching for the probity of the adventurers, and offering the fullest protection to such Chinese subjects as might be disposed to open a trade in any English port. This expedition proved even more disastrous than the preceding one. After capturing three Portuguese vessels, the English crews became so fearfully reduced by disease, that out of three ships' companies, only four men remained alive.

* He anchored in a bay (supposed to be that now called Port San Francisco) on the coast of California, and landing, took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, calling it "Nova Albion."

† Fitch published a narrative of his adventures, which greatly stimulated public curiosity on the subject; and this feeling was increased by the accounts sent from India by an Englishman, named Stevens, who had proceeded thither in a Portuguese

vessel from Lisbon. According to Camden, a Portuguese carrack, captured by Drake off the Azores in 1587, and brought to England, contained various documents regarding the nature and value of the India trade, which first inspired English merchants with a desire to prosecute it on their own account.

‡ By the union of Spain and Portugal, the papal grants of eastern and western discoveries centred in one crown.

These unfortunates were cast on shore on a small island near Puerto Rico, where three of them were murdered by a party of Spaniards, for the sake of the treasure they had with them, and only one survived to divulge the crime to the Spanish officers of justice, soon after which he was poisoned by the same robbers who had murdered his shipmates. The public enthusiasm was somewhat damped by the dense cloud which long shrouded the calamitous issue of this expedition; but the successful adventures of the Dutch (*see* p. 196), and their grasping policy in raising the price of pepper from three to six and eight shillings per lb. (the cost in India being two to three pence), induced the merchants of London—headed by the lord mayor and aldermen—to hold a meeting at Founders'-hall, on the 22nd of September, 1599,* which resulted in the formation of a company, for the purpose of setting on foot a voyage to the East Indies.† The stock embarked, then considered a large one, of £30,133 6s. 8d., was divided into 101 shares or adventures, the subscriptions of individuals varying from £100 to £3,000. The queen was ever zealous in promoting similar projects, but in this instance there was need of deliberation. Elizabeth well knew the value of peace to a trading nation, and delayed granting the charter of incorporation solicited by the company, until it should be proved how far their interests could be prudently consulted in the course of the friendly negotiations newly opened by Spain through the mediation of France. The treaty how-

ever soon fell to the ground, in consequence of a disputed question of precedence between the English and Spanish commissioners at Boulogne. The discussion of the East India question was eagerly resumed both in the city and at court; and on the last day of the 16th century, Elizabeth signed a charter on behalf of about 220 gentlemen, merchants, and other individuals of repute, constituting them "one bodie-corporate and politike indeed," by the name of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies."‡

A petition was addressed to the Privy Council for their sanction that "the voyage might be proceeded upon without any hindrance, notwithstanding the treaty;" but they "declined granting such a warrant, as deeming it more beneficial for the general state of merchandise to entertain a peace, than that the same should be hindered by standing with the Spanish commissioners for the maintenance of this trade, and thereby forego the opportunity of concluding the peace."§

It was a fitting conclusion for a century of extraordinary progress, and also for a reign, characterised throughout by measures of unrivalled political sagacity. The ablest sovereign (perhaps excepting Alfred) the realm had ever known, was soon to be taken away under very melancholy circumstances. The death of Lord Burleigh, and the rebellion of Essex, were trials which the failing strength and over-taxed energies of the queen could ill withstand; and she died in November, 1603, a powerful and beloved

* At the commencement of this year a merchant, named John Mildenhall, was dispatched (by way of Constantinople) to the Great Mogul, to solicit, in the name of his sovereign, certain trading privileges for his countrymen. He did not reach Agra till the year 1603, and was there long delayed and put to great expense by the machinations of the Jesuits then residing at the court of the Great Mogul, aided by two Italian (probably Venetian) merchants; but he eventually succeeded in obtaining from Jehangier the desired grant in 1606.

† At a subsequent meeting, a committee of fifteen persons was appointed to present a petition to the lords of the Privy Council, setting forth that, "stimulated by the success which has attended the voyage to the East Indies by the Dutch, and finding the Dutch are projecting another voyage, for which they have bought ships in England, the merchants having the same regard to the welfare of this kingdom, that the Dutch have to their commonwealth, have resolved upon making a voyage of adventure, and for this purpose entreat her Majesty will grant them letters patent of incorporation, succession, &c., for that the trade being so far remote from hence, cannot be managed but by a joint and united stock."

‡ Thomas Smith, alderman of London, and an active

member of the Turkey company, was declared first governor. Among the other names mentioned in the charter are those of George, Earl of Cumberland; Sirs—John Hart, John Spencer, Edward Michelborne, Richard Staper, and ten other citizens and aldermen of London, and two hundred and six individuals of repute, who petitioned for the "royal assent and license to be granted unto them, that they, at their own adventures, costs, and charges, as well as for the honour of this our realm of England, as for the increase of our navigation and advancement of trade of merchandise within our said realms and the dominions of the same, might set forth one or more voyages, with convenient number of ships and pinnaces, by way of traffic and merchandise to the East Indies and countries of Asia and Africa, and to as many of the islands, ports and cities, towns and places thereabouts, as where trade and traffic may by all likelihood be discovered, established or had, divers of which countries and many of the islands, cities, and ports thereof have long since been discovered by others of our subjects, albeit not frequented in trade of merchandise."—(*See* quarto vol. of *Charters granted to the East India Company from 1661, &c.*, pp. 4, 5.)

§ Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 4.

ruler, but a broken-hearted woman. As yet the commercial and colonial enterprises, commenced under her auspices, had produced no tangible results, so far as territorial aggrandisement was concerned. English merchants had, it is true, even then become "the honourable of the earth;" and English ships had compassed the world, bearing their part manfully in the perilous voyages of the age, in the icy straits of Greenland and Labrador, uplifting the national flag on the shores of Virginia and Newfoundland,* amid the isles of the West Indies,† and the coasts of Brazil, Guiana, and Peru. The straits of Magellan, the broad expanse of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, had mirrored that standard on their waves; and for a brief season it had floated upon the Caspian Sea, and been carried along the banks of the Oxus. In the ports and marts of the Adriatic, the Archipelago, the Levant, and the southern coasts of the Mediterranean, it became a familiar visitant, as it had long been to the traffickers of the Canary Isles, and dwellers on the shores of Guinea and Benin;‡ and lastly, pursuing its way to the isles and continents of the East, it floated hopefully past the Southern Cape of Africa.§ The initiatory measures are ever those which most severely task the weakness and selfishness of human nature: energy, forethought, patience—all these qualities, and many more, are essential ingredients in the characters of those who aspire to lay the foundation of an edifice, which future generations must be left to bring to perfection. In the history of the world, such "master builders" are comparatively few: more commonly, we find men carrying on the structure of national progress with scarcely a thought beyond their individual interests, each one labouring for himself, like the coral insects, who live and die unconscious of the mighty results of their puny labours. Nor is this blindness on the part of the majority

to be regretted, while the minority—those on whom the steering of the vessel of the state more or less evidently devolves—afford such constant illustrations of the fallible and unsatisfactory character of human policy. Thus, even in ascribing to Elizabeth the pre-eminence in patriotism and statesmanship, in zeal for religious truth and liberty;—the excellence ascribed is at best only comparative, since her administration was deeply stained by the besetting sin of civilised governments—"clever diplomacy," or, in plain words, that constant readiness to take advantage of the weakness or ignorance of other nations, which, among individuals, would be stigmatised as grasping, overreaching, and unjust, even by those who do not profess to judge actions by any loftier standard than the ordinary customs and opinions of society. This admixture of unworthy motives is probably often the cause of the failure of many well-devised schemes: it may account, to some minds, for the career of Elizabeth terminating when the projects she had cherished were on the eve of development; when England was about to enter on a course of annually increasing territorial, commercial, and maritime prosperity, often, however, checked rather than encouraged, by the weakness, selfishness, or prejudice of her rulers.

The original charter bestowed on the East India Company manifested a prudent regard for the prevention of disputes with other European powers, or with previously incorporated English companies, and reserved to the Crown the power of accommodating the Indian trade to the contingencies of foreign politics, or of the trade carried on by its subjects with neighbouring countries. The charter was granted for fifteen years; but if the exclusive privileges thereby conferred should be found disadvantageous to the general interests of the country, it might be revoked upon two years' notice: if, on the

of Exeter and Taunton were empowered to traffic with Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. In 1597, we find the indefatigable Elizabeth seeking commercial privileges from "the most invincible and puissant king of the Abassens (Abyssinians), the mightie emperor of Ethiopia, the higher and the lower."

§ The Russian company desired, by an overland trade, to connect the imports from Persia with those from the Baltic: the Levant company, which traded with the Mediterranean ports, brought thence, among its assortments, a proportion of Indian produce, the value of which might be affected by the imports brought into England or for the European market, by the direct intercourse, though circuitous routes, of the company.—(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*)

* *North American Possessions*, vol. i., pp. 292-3.

† *West Indian Possessions*, vol. iv. (div. viii.), p. 15. The Rev. James Anderson, in enumerating the exploratory proceedings of England, truly remarks, that "the foundations of her future greatness were laid in the very efforts which had appeared so fruitless."—(*History of the Colonial Church*, vol. i., p. 123.)

‡ Repeated efforts were made for the extension of commerce with Africa. In 1572, a treaty between England and Portugal provided for the better adjustment of the intercourse of their respective subjects with the western shores of Africa; in 1585, the queen granted a patent to Robert, Earl of Leicester, for the management of the trade with Barbary and Morocco: and in 1588, and 1592, some merchants

contrary, the result should prove of public benefit, new letters patent were to be granted at the expiration of the first period, for other fifteen years.* With these needful limitations, great encouragement was given to the association; notwithstanding which, the delay occasioned by the Spanish negotiation had so far damped the enterprise of some of the individual adventurers, that they refused to pay their proffered subscriptions; and the directors, acting under the charter (in which no amount of capital was prescribed, as in the case of modern documents of a similar character), appear to have wanted power to compel them to do so, or else to have deemed its exercise imprudent. The consequence was, the formation of a subordinate association, endowed with authority to adventure on their own account, providing the funds, and either bearing the whole loss, or reaping the whole profit of the voyage. A new body of speculators was thus admitted,

* Under the charter, the plan which they had already adopted for the management of their affairs, by a committee of twenty-four and a chairman, both to be chosen annually, was confirmed and rendered obligatory. The chief permissive clauses were as follow:—the company were empowered to make bye-laws for the regulation of their business, and of the people in their employment, whose offences they might punish by imprisonment or fine;—to export goods for four voyages duty free, and duties afterwards paid on goods lost at sea to be deducted from dues payable on next shipment;—six months' credit to be allowed on custom dues of half imports, and twelve months for the remainder, with free exportation for thirteen months (by English merchants in English vessels);—liberty to transport Spanish and other foreign silver coin and bullion to the value of £30,000, of which £6,000 was to be coined at the Tower, and the same sum in any subsequent voyage during fifteen years, or the continuance of their privileges, provided that within six months after every voyage except the first, gold and silver equal in value to the exported silver should be duly imported, and entered at the ports of London, Hartmouth and Plymouth, where alone the bullion was to be shipped. The monopoly of the company was confirmed by a clause enacting, that interlopers in the East India trade should be subject to the forfeiture of their ships and cargoes, one-half to go to the Crown, the other to the company, and to suffer imprisonment and such other punishment as might be decreed by the Crown, until they should have signed a bond engaging, under a penalty of £1,000 at the least, "not to sail or traffic into any of the said East Indies" without special license from the company. Another clause affords evidence of the condition of the state by guaranteeing, that "in any time of restraint," six good ships and as many pinnaces, well-armed and manned with 500 English sailors, should be permitted to depart "without any stay or contradiction," unless the urgent necessities of the kingdom, in the event of war, should require their detention, in which case three months' notice

by whom £68,373 were subscribed, and five vessels† equipped, manned by 500 men, provisioned for twenty months, at a cost of £6,600, and furnished with bullion and various staples and manufactures wherewith to try the Indian market. The command was entrusted to Captain James Lancaster, who received from the queen general letters of introduction addressed to the rulers of the ports to which he might resort. The fleet sailed from Torbay on April 22, 1601, and proceeded direct to Acheen,‡ which they reached on June 5, 1602; a voyage now usually accomplished in ninety days.

Captain Lancaster, on his arrival, delivered the queen's letter to the king or chief of Acheen, who received him with much pomp and courtesy, and accorded permission to establish a factory, with free exports and imports, protection to trade, power of bequeathing property by will, and other privileges of an independent community. But

would be given to the company.—(*Charters of East India Company*, p. 21.)

† The *Dragon*, *Hector*, *Ascension*, *Susan*, and *Gust*, of 600, 300, 250, 210, and 100 tons respectively, the smallest serving as a victualler; the others are described by Sir William Monson as "four of the best merchant ships in the kingdom." According to the same authority, there were not in England, at this period, more than four vessels of 100 tons each. In 1580, the total number of vessels in the navy was 150, of which only forty belonged to the Crown: a like number was employed in trade with different countries, the average burden being 150 tons. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it appears that wars with Spain, and losses by capture, had reduced both shipping and seamen one-third. The small English squadron seemed insufficient to enter on a traffic in which the Portuguese had long been in the habit of employing vessels of 1,200 to 1,500 tons burden: in its equipment £39,771 were expended, the cargoes were estimated at £28,742 in bullion, and £6,860 in various goods, including iron and tin wrought and unwrought, lead, eighty pieces of broad-cloth of all colours, eighty pieces of Devonshire kersies, 100 pieces of Norwich stuffs, with various smaller articles, including glass, quick-silver, Muscovy hides, and other things intended as presents for different local functionaries. Factors and supercargoes were nominated, and divided into four classes: all gave security for fidelity and abstinence from private trade in proportionate sums of £500 downwards. Three of the principal factors were allowed £100 each as equipment, and £200 for an "adventure;" and four of each of the other classes smaller sums. The salary of each commander was £100, and £200 on credit for an adventure. If the profits of the voyage yielded two for one, they were to be allowed £500; if three for one, £1,000; if four for one, £1,500; and if five for one, £2,000.—(*Bruce's Annals*, vol. i., p. 129.)

‡ Situate on the N.W. extremity of the large island of Sumatra, in 5° 36' N. lat., 95° 25' E. long.

the crop of pepper having failed in the preceding season, a sufficient quantity could not be obtained in that port; and Lancaster, impressed with a conviction of the influence the pecuniary results of the first voyage would have upon the future prosecution of the trade, concerted measures with the commander of a Dutch ship, then at Acheen, for hostilities against their joint foe, the Portuguese.* A carrack of 900 tons was captured, and her cargo, consisting of calicoes and other Indian manufactures, having been divided between the conquering vessels, the Portuguese crew were left in possession of their rifled ship, and the Dutch and English commanders went their way. Lancaster proceeded to Bantam, in Java, where, after delivering his credentials and presents, he completed his lading with spices, and leaving the remaining portion of his merchandise for sale in charge of some agents, sailed homewards, arriving off the Downs in September, 1603.

The company awaited his return with extreme anxiety. They delayed making preparations for a fresh voyage until the result of the first venture should appear, and persisted in this resolve, notwithstanding the representations of the privy council, and even of the queen, who considered their delay an infraction of the terms on which the charter had been granted, and reminded them of the energy and patriotism of the Dutch, who annually formed their equipments and extended their commerce by unceasing exertion. The safe return of the fleet,

* What authority Captain Lancaster possessed for this proceeding does not appear, but it is probable that he acted according to permission granted for a similar conjuncture; because the queen, being unable to retaliate the attack of the Armada on her own behalf, by reason of the condition of the treasury, permitted private adventurers to fit out expeditions against the national foe both by sea and land. Such was the squadron of about 160 vessels, 1,500 sailors, and 11,000 soldiers, under Sir F. Drake and Sir John Norris, in 1589, which ravaged and plundered the coasts of Spain and Portugal; and that of several ships under the personal command of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in the same year, to the Azores or Western Isles, where much booty was obtained. From this period may be dated English "privateering," which soon degenerated into "buccaneering;" and which James I. deserves much praise for his endeavours to check.

† Elizabeth was dead, and London afflicted with the plague: everybody who could leave it, had taken refuge in the country; and in the general disorder it was next to impossible to raise money either by borrowing or by sales of merchandise.

‡ In 1601, King James granted a license to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to trade with China

though at an inopportune moment,† put an end to all incertitude regarding the feasibility of the projected trade; and notwithstanding the difficulties occasioned by the encouragement given by the king to the attempts of private adventurers, in violation of the fifteen years' monopoly promised by the charter,‡ and the enmity of the Portuguese,—to which the tacit and afterwards open opposition of the Dutch was soon added,—the company continued to fit out separate expeditions on the same terms as the first, until the year 1614, when the twelfth was undertaken by a single ship, chiefly for the purpose of carrying out Sir Robert Shirley, who had been sent as ambassador to the English sovereign by Shah Abbas of Persia. The total capital expended in these voyages was £164,284; of which £263,216 had been invested in shipping and stores, £138,127 in bullion, and £62,411 in merchandise. Notwithstanding losses (including a disastrous expedition in 1607, in which both vessels perished), the general result was prosperous, the total profit reaching 138 per cent.; but it must be remembered that a period of six or seven years and upwards elapsed before the proceeds of a voyage could be finally adjusted, and that the receipts included the profits of a ship-builder and purveyor, or "ship's husband," as well as of a merchant.

In 1613, it was deemed advisable to renounce all separate adventures, and continue the trade on a joint-stock account; this, however, being itself an experiment, was

and various East Indian ports. The undertaking was little better than a series of petty piracies, committed upon Chinese junks and small Indian vessels encountered in cruising among the Asiatic islands: but is memorable as marking the appearance of the *interlopers* or *private traders*, whose disputes with the company afterwards ran so high. This very Michelborne had been recommended by the lord-treasurer for employment to the company; but although then petitioning for a charter, the directors rejected the application, and requested that they might "be allowed to sort their business with men of their own qualitye, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold of by the generalitie, do drive a great number of the adventurers to withdraw their contributions."—(Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*, vol. i., p. 128.) The same determined spirit was evinced on the present occasion; and they succeeded in obtaining another charter in 1609, in which, departing from the cautious policy of his predecessor, the king confirmed the exclusive privileges of the company, not for a limited term of years, but *for ever*, provided however that the trade should prove beneficial to the realm, otherwise the charter was to be annulled, on giving three years' notice.—(*Idem*, p. 157.)

fixed for the term of only four years; during which time, the stipulated capital of £429,000 was to be paid up in equal annual proportions. This union was generally beneficial in its effects, by preventing the international competition resulting from the clashing interests of parties concerned in the different voyages, whether in the Indian market or in England, where the imports were either sold by public auction, or divided among the adventurers in kind, as was best suited to the interests of the leading persons in the separate concerns; and it often happened that private accommodation was studied at the expense of the general good. Besides these inconveniences, it was necessary that some specific line of policy should be adopted, for the general direction of the trade and the control and guidance of individual commanders; since it was evident that the interested and impolitic conduct of one expedition might seriously impede the success of subsequent voyages.

The proceedings of Sir Henry Middleton will illustrate this. Up to 1609, the intercourse of the English had been exclusively with Sumatra, Java, and Amboyna; an attempt was then made to open a trade with woollens, metals, and other British commodities, in barter for spices and drugs, in the ports of the Red Sea, Cambay, and Surat. At Aden and Mocha, they were opposed by the Turks, and Middleton with seventy men made prisoners. They succeeded in effecting their escape, and proceeded to Surat, where a forcible landing was effected, in defiance of the Portuguese, who, however, induced the Moguls to pre-

vent their attempts at commerce. About this time, the envoy (Hawkins) dispatched by the company to seek the imperial confirmation of the trading privileges promised to Mildenhall, threw up his suit in despair, and quitted Agra, after a residence of more than two years. Middleton returned to the Red Sea, and there seized upon several Mogul ships (including one of 1,500 tons, fitted out by the mother of Jehangier for the use of pilgrims), and obliged them to pay a ransom equivalent to his estimate of the loss occasioned by the frustration of his voyage. After lading two of his vessels with pepper at Bantam, he prepared to return homewards; but his chief ship, the newly-built *Trade's Increase*,* overset in Bantam roads, and was totally destroyed; which so affected her commander, that he soon after died of vexation: the voyage, nevertheless, afforded £121 per cent. profit on the capital employed. The unwarrantable aggression committed in the Red Sea had roused the indignation and alarm of the emperor; but the discretion of Captain Best† was successfully exerted in obtaining permission to trade, through the intervention of the governor of Ahmedabad, whose concessions were ratified by an imperial firman, which arrived in January, 1613, authorising the establishment of English factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay, and Goga, with protection for life and property, on condition of the payment of a custom duty of three-and-a-half per cent. The Portuguese did not quietly witness the progress of this arrangement, but attacked the two vessels of Cap-

* The company, finding themselves unable to charter vessels of sufficient burden either in England or elsewhere, formed a dockyard at Deptford; and in 1609 launched, in the words of Sir William Monson, "the goodliest and greatest ship [1,100 tons] that was ever framed in this kingdom." King James, with his son (afterwards Charles I.), presided at the launch, named the vessel the *Trade's Increase*, and partook of a sumptuous banquet served on China-ware, then considered a rare mark of eastern magnificence. From this period may be dated the increase of large ships; for the king about this time caused a man-of-war to be constructed of 1,400 tons burden, carrying sixty-four guns, called the *Prince*. From 1609 to 1610 the company continued to exercise the now separate vocations of ship-builders, purveyors, &c. In their yards at Deptford and Blackwall, not only were vessels constructed of 700, 800, 900, and in one instance (the *Royal James*) of 1,200 tons burden, but their masts, yards, anchors, sails, cordage, and entire outfit were prepared; the bread was baked, the meat salted and casked, and the various departments which, by the present improved system, are subdivided into many distinct

branches of labour, were then brought to a considerable degree of perfection by the combined efforts of skill and capital possessed by the East India Company. As trade increased, ship-building became a distinct and profitable business; and in 1610 and subsequent years, the company were enabled to hire vessels at £20 to £25 per ton freight, whereas their own cost £31 per ton: thenceforth the commerce was carried on partly by their own and partly by hired ships; and eventually the dockyards were sold for private enterprise.

† Captain Best visited Acheen in 1615, and as the bearer of a royal letter, formed a new treaty with its ruler, and obtained permission to establish a factory at Tikoo or Ticoo (in Sumatra), on condition of paying seven per cent. import and export duty. The monarch, who is represented as very fierce and sanguinary, replied to the communication of the English sovereign with a request, that he would send him one of his countrywomen for a wife, promising to make her eldest son "king of all the pepper countries." No English lady appears to have taken advantage of this offer; and whether from disappointment or avarice, the king of Acheen

tain Best, at Swally, near Surat, with a squadron of four galleons, and a number of smaller vessels without cannon, intended to assist in boarding, for which, however, they found no opportunity, being driven off with considerable loss, after a struggle of more than a month's duration.*

The chief events which marked the four years' existence of the first joint-stock company, was the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe,† who succeeded in obtaining from Jehangir liberty of trade for his countrymen throughout the empire;‡ the formation of a treaty with the zamorin for the expulsion of the Portuguese from Cochin, which when conquered was to be ceded to the English; and lastly, hostilities with the Dutch, which entailed losses and expense, whereby the total profits of the four voyages were reduced to eighty-seven per cent. This decreased dividend did not, however, prevent a new subscription being favourably received by impeded the trade of the Europeans by exactions; and at length, in 1621, expelled both the Dutch and English factors; but the intercourse was subsequently resumed and carried on at intervals.

* From 22nd of October to the 27th November, 1812.—(Wilson's note on Mill's *India*, vol. i., p. 29.)

† The mission of Sir Thomas Roe to Jehangir has been already narrated (p. 123.) The incidents of his journey from Surat to Ajmeer evidenced a comparative state of order in the country traversed: whereas, the adventures which befel Withington, one of the company's agents, who set out from Ahmedabad to Laribunda, the port of Sind, where three English ships had arrived, affords a far less favourable picture of the condition of the portion of India through which his route of about 500 miles lay. The caravan with which he travelled was attacked in the night of the third stage, and "the next day he met the Mogul's officer returning with 250 heads of the Coolies," whom Mr. Orme sweepingly terms, "a nation of robbers;" and who in the opinion of Jehangir seem to have merited nothing less than extermination. Many days were spent in crossing the desert, but no molestation occurred until the peopled country was reached, and the caravan separated; after which, Withington and his sixteen companions (four servants, two merchants with five servants, and five drivers to their ten camels) hired an escort for the march to Gundaiwa, which saved them from a band of robbers. Twice afterwards they were attacked, and compelled to purchase immunity from plunder by a small present. They next reached the residence of a Rajpoot chief, who had recently escaped from the hands of the Moguls, by whom he had been blinded. His son agreed to escort Withington to Tatta, a distance of only thirty miles, but fraught with danger; and it would appear, from mere covetousness, acted in a manner quite contrary to the usual fidelity of a Hindoo, and especially of a Rajpoot guide, by treacherously delivering over the travellers to a party of marauders, who strangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five servants; and binding Withington and his attendants, marched them forty miles to

the public: dukes, earls, and knights, judges and privy counsellors, countesses and ladies, "widows and virgins," doctors of divinity and physic, merchants and tradesmen, are all classified in the list of the 954 individuals, by whom a sum of no less than £1,629,040 (averaging £1,700 for each person) was furnished in 1616 for a new series of ventures, comprising three distinct voyages, to be undertaken in the four following years. Surat and Bantam were to be the chief seats of trade, with factories at Ceylon, Siam, Japan, Macassar, and Banda. A proposition had previously been made by the Dutch for a union of trade with the English, that common cause might be made against the Spanish-Portuguese, and a monopoly secured to the combined companies. This offer was repeated in 1617, on the plea of the rivalry about to arise from the formation of an East India association in France§, and likewise in Denmark;|| but a mountain stronghold, whence they were sent to Parker, and thence on to Radenpore: their clothes were stolen from them on the way, and they subsisted by begging, until their wants were relieved by the charity of a Banian, whom Withington had known at Ahmedabad, which place he reached, "after a distressful absence of 111 days."—(Orme's *Origin of the English Establishment, and of the Company's trade at Surat and Bouch*, p. 331.)

‡ *Ibid* pp. 123–4.

§ The French are said to have made an unsuccessful endeavour to double the Cape of Good Hope as early as 1503: in 1601 a small commercial association was formed in Bretagne. Two vessels were fitted out and dispatched to the East Indies: both were wrecked amid the Maldivé Archipelago near Ceylon; and the commander, Pyrard de Laval, did not return home for ten years. In 1615, "The Molucca Company" was formed, with exclusive privileges to trade for twelve years. This new source of competition alarmed the Dutch, and their constant hostility, together with the alleged exactions of the king of Acheen, obliged the French company to relinquish their enterprise. In 1619–20, a French ship was burnt at Bantam with a cargo valued at 500,000 crowns, "apparently by the Dutch."—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 256.) Merchants of St. Malo and Dieppe sent vessels to India at various times in 1622, and the former had an agent settled at Bantam.

|| A Danish company was formed at Copenhagen in 1612, and six vessels (three belonging to the king, Christian IV., and three to the company) were sent out under a commander named Boschower, who had formerly been in the service of the Dutch in Ceylon, and had come to Europe with an appeal from the natives against the cruelties of the Spanish-Portuguese. Boschower first applied to the Dutch, and conceiving himself neglected, proceeded to Denmark, where he obtained the desired assistance, and sailed for Ceylon, but died on the voyage. His second in command became involved in disputes with the rajah he came to befriend, and sailed for Tanjore, where, by means of presents and the promise of a yearly tribute of £700, he obtained from

again rejected.* To guard against the antagonism of the Dutch, and likewise to defeat the attempts of English interlopers, who had taken both to trading and privateering on their own account, it was deemed necessary to send out a fleet of nine ships, of which six were of considerable size, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale, who was commissioned by the king, and empowered to seize the ships of illicit traders, and to declare martial law in case of necessity. Hostilities were seldom long intermitted: even while the nations at home were in alliance, their subjects in the Indies were more or less openly at strife, unless indeed their joint influence was needed against the Portuguese, whose powers of aggression and even defence were now, however, almost neutralised by their disorganised condition.

The Lisbon company to whom the exclusive claims of the Spanish crown had been made over, was unable to furnish the stipulated payments; and the king, finding himself impoverished instead of enriched by his Indian possessions, sent an order to Azavedo, the viceroy, to make the government support itself, by selling every office to the highest bidder. This had already been done to a great extent; but the royal order for so disgraceful a proceeding annihilated the few remaining relics of a better system; and the Moors and Hindoos, instead of humbly suing these former lords of the Indian seas for a passport (which, even when obtained, often failed to secure their vessels against the rapacity of Portuguese cruisers), now in turn became the assailants, thus materially aiding the aggressive policy of the Dutch.

The English did not often come in contact with the Portuguese, their head-quarters

being at Surat; but about the time of their establishment in that place, the Dutch attempted to trade with the Malabar coasts, and in 1603, made an ineffectual endeavour to dislodge the Portuguese from Mozambique and Goa; opened a communication with Ceylon; succeeded in expelling them from the islands of Amboyna and Tidore, and by degrees engrossed the whole trade of the Spice Islands; their large equipments and considerable proportion of military force, under able commanders, enabling them to conquer the Moluccas and Bandas.† The reinforcements of the Portuguese grew scanty and insufficient; their Spanish ruler finding full employment for his forces in maintaining the struggle in the Low Countries, and, at the same time, guarding his dominions in the West Indies and South America; the Dutch were therefore enabled by degrees to fix factories at Pulicat, Masulipatam, and Negapatam, on the Coromandel coast; in Ceylon; at Cranganore, Cannanore, and Cochin, in Malabar; and thence pushed their commercial agencies to Bussora and the shores of the Persian Gulf. The Amsterdam company also formed establishments in Sumatra and Java.

The twelve years' truce, entered upon between Spain and Holland in 1609, checked open hostility in the Indies; but the Dutch covertly continued their opposition; and in 1611, succeeded in opening a trade with the islands of Japan, despite the exclusive pretensions of the Spanish-Portuguese. The growing naval strength of England justly gave them more uneasiness than the decaying power of a nation whose yoke they had thrown off; and they already found the English, competitors for the spice trade, of

the rajah a cession of territory, on which the settlement of Tranquebar and the fortress of Dansburg were established. By justice and kindness the Danes acquired the goodwill of the natives: their trade extended to the Moluccas and China; they had factories at Bantam and on the Malabar coast; gained possession of the Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal (of which they could make nothing); and built a neat town called Serampore, fifteen miles above Calcutta, on the Hooghly river. All these stations were under the direction of Tanjore; and matters went on favourably until the rajah became involved in a long and sanguinary war, which prevented the Danes from procuring cargoes with any certainty, and proved an obstacle to their commerce which all their economy and perseverance never enabled them to surmount.—(Anders on's *Commerce*.)

* An attempt was likewise made for the establishment of a Scottish East India Company, and a royal patent granted in 1618 to Sir James Cunningham, but withdrawn in consequence of the interference of the

London company, who made compensation for the expenses incurred. The king, in return for this concession, and with a view of sustaining the Russian company, which had long been in a precarious state, prevailed on the East India Company to unite with them in carrying on a joint trade, each party advancing £30,000 per annum during the continuance of their respective charters; but the experiment failing after a trial of two seasons, the connexion was dissolved at the termination of the year 1619; the loss of the East India Company being estimated at £40,000.—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, p. 16.)

† Their traffic seems from the first to have been always lucrative, though fluctuating. The dividends to the shareholders in each year, from 1604 to 1613 inclusive, were at the rate of 125, 55, 75, 40, 20, 25, 50, and 37 per cent. Numerous strong squadrons were equipped: in 1613-14, no less than twenty-seven ships were dispatched to India.—(*Voyages undertaken by Dutch East India Company*: published in London, 1703.)

which a complete monopoly was their especial desire. The islands of Polaroön and Rosen-gin* were fortified by the English, with the permission of the natives, about the year 1617. This the Dutch resented, on the ground that they were already possessed of authority over the whole of the Bandas by reason of their occupation of the more important islands in the group. They attacked Polaroön and were driven off, but seized two English ships, and declared their intention of retaining them until the English should consent to surrender all rights and claims on Polaroön and the Spice Islands. Considering the general, though unjust, ideas then entertained regarding the rights obtained in newly-discovered countries by priority of occupancy, without regard to the will of the natives, the Dutch had some plausible pretext for maintaining their claims to the exclusive advantage of trade with the Moluccas, as obtained by conquest from the Spanish-Portuguese; but with regard to the settlement in Java, they could not urge that plea, since they had at first welcomed the arrival and alliance of the English, and made no opposition to their establishment in that island, now sanctioned by time. Their own notions of the case are set forth in a memorial addressed to King James in 1618, complaining of the encroachments of his subjects, and praying him to restrain their further aggressions: the London company, on their part, vindicated their conduct, and enumerated a long series of losses and injuries entailed upon them by the jealous enmity of the Dutch. The governments of the respective companies resolved to make an arrangement for the regulation of the East India trade; and after repeated conferences, a treaty was signed in London, in 1619, by which amnesty for all past excesses was decreed, and a mutual restitution of ships and property. The pepper trade at Java was to be equally divided. The English were to have a free trade at Pulicat on the Coromandel coast, on paying half the expenses of the garrison, and one-third of the trade of the Moluccas and Bandas, bearing an equal proportion of the garrison expenses; joint exertions to be made for the reduction of the customs and duties claimed

by the native governments at different ports; the trade of both the contracting parties to be free to the extent of the specified funds respectively employed; each company to furnish ten ships, not to be used in the European trade, but only for mutual defence, and in carrying goods from one port of India to another. Finally, a Council of Defence, composed of four members on either side, who were to preside each alternate month, was established for the local superintendence of the treaty, which was to remain in force twenty years.

Some months before these arrangements were concluded, the fleet under Sir Thomas Dale combined with the king of Bantam† for the expulsion of the Dutch from Jaccatra; which being accomplished, the place was left in the possession of its native owners; but shortly afterwards again seized from the Javanese by their former conquerors, who thereupon laid the foundation of a regular fortified city, on which was bestowed the ancient name of Holland, "Batavia," and which became, and still remains, the seat of their government and the centre of their trade.

The scheme of making the two companies politically equal, and commercially unequal, was soon found to be impracticable; and before the *Council of Defence* had been well established in Jaccatra, the domineering conduct of the Dutch clearly proved their determination to take an unjust advantage of their superior capital and fleet. Considerable exertions were, however, made by the English company, and ten large ships sent out, with £62,490 in money, and £28,508 in goods. Nine of these vessels were detained in the East Indies; but one returned home freighted with a cargo which realised £108,887; and had the Dutch acted up to the spirit or letter of their agreement, the returns would have been immense. Instead of this, they gradually laid aside the flimsy veil which they had at first cast over their intentions, and at length ceased to attempt disguising their continued determination to monopolise the spice-trade. In framing the treaty, no distinction had been made between past and future expenses: the English intended only to bind themselves for the future; the Dutch demanded from them a

* Two small islands in the Banda archipelago, chiefly producing nutmegs and other spices.

† *Bantam*, which attracted so much attention in the early periods of European intercourse with the East, is situated near the north-west point of Java (lat. 5° 52'; long. 106° 2'), at the bottom of a large

bay, between the branches of a shallow river. A factory, it will be remembered, had been formed there by the English, under Captain Lancaster, in 1602, and this had been burned by the Dutch, who had also attacked the palace of the king of Bantam, with whom they were constantly at variance.

share of the past, and carried themselves in so overbearing a manner, that the English commissioners soon reported the worse than uselessness of maintaining a connexion which involved the company in a heavy outlay, without adequate remuneration. In the circle of which the ancient city of Surat* was the centre, affairs were proceeding more prosperously. A treaty of trade and friendship had been concluded with Persia, in 1620, on very advantageous terms for the English, to whom permission had been accorded to build a fort at Jask; but an expedition sent there in the following year found the port blockaded by a Portuguese fleet, consisting of five large and fifteen small vessels. The English having but two ships, did not attempt to cope with so disproportionate a force, but sailed back to Surat, where, being joined by two other vessels, they returned to Jask, and succeeded in forcing an entrance into the harbour. The Portuguese retired to Ormuz,† and after refitting, made a desperate attack upon the English, who gained a decisive victory over a much superior force. This event produced a deep impression on the minds of the Persians, who urged the victors to unite with them for the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island of Ormuz; and, although it was against the royal instruc-

tions to attack the subjects of the king of Spain, the previous provocation and the urgent solicitation of the Shah was supposed to justify a further breach of the peace. A joint assault was made, and the town and castle captured in 1622, the English having the chief conduct of affairs, and receiving in return a proportion of the plunder, and a grant of the moiety of the customs at the port of Gombroon,‡ which was regularly paid till about 1680, when the company, being unable to keep the gulf free from pirates, the Persian monarch withheld their dues. Notwithstanding the favourable result of this enterprise, the four representatives of the English East India Company at Jaccatra, who bore the title of "President and Council," blamed the co-operation with the Persians as a rash and ill-advised measure, because the pepper§ investment had been lost, from the company's vessels not arriving at Achcen as expected; beside which the general interest had suffered, from the shipping intended for the Java and Sumatra trade being detained by the factors at Sumatra.|| Probably the English members of the Council of Defence felt the necessity for the concentration of their force as a guard against the Dutch; but for this the whole was far too little. The expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland, in 1621, gave the signal for the

* *Surat*, already repeatedly mentioned in connection with the Moguls, Portuguese, and Mahrattas, is the present capital of Guzerat, situated on the bank of the Taptee river, about twenty miles above its junction with the sea, in 21° 11' N. lat., 73° 7' E. long. On the establishment of European intercourse with India, different nations resorted thither, as it had long been a commercial emporium, and was deemed "one of the gates of Mecca," from the number of pilgrims who embarked there on their way to visit the tomb of Mohammed. The Dutch did not visit Surat until 1617, and then only by accident, being shipwrecked off the coast, and kindly treated by the English, who aided them in disposing of their cargoes at Surat, by which means they learned the importance of this ancient emporium, of which they were not slow to take advantage.

† *Ormuz*, six miles long by four miles broad, is situated at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, in 27° 12' N., within seven miles of the main land. When first visited by the Portuguese, under Albuquerque, in 1508, it was a place of considerable trade; there were then 30,000 men on the island, and in the harbour 400 vessels, sixty of them of large size, and having 2,500 men on board. The place was captured by the Portuguese in 1514, and it remained in their possession for 120 years, during which time the fortifications were increased, noble mansions built, and the town advanced in wealth and splendour, until it grew to be regarded as the richest spot in the world. The share of the customs granted to the English at Gombroon, soon resulted in the trans-

fer of the trade to that port: and in the hands of the Persians, Ormuz degenerated into a heap of ruins.

‡ *Gombroon* lies nearly opposite to Ormuz, in 27° 10' N. lat., 54° 45' E. long., on the mainland of Persia. The English were permitted to establish a factory here in 1613, and the Dutch in 1620. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Ormuz, many Persian merchants removed to Gombroon, which was then strongly fortified, and adorned with fine structures. When the interests of the E. I. Cy. became concentrated on the continent of India, their distant factories were neglected. The French seized Gombroon in 1759: it was reoccupied by the English, but eventually abandoned from its unhealthiness.

§ The stress laid on pepper and other spices, as primary articles in the East India trade, can only be explained by remembering, that in those days (while homeopathy was unknown) both cordials and viands were flavoured to a degree which, when the cost of spices diminished, proved itself a fashion rather than a want, by falling into comparative disuse.

|| A share of the prize-money taken at Ormuz and elsewhere was demanded by the king, in right of the Crown, and by the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral. The company admitted the former, but denied the latter claim, upon which the duke stopped at Tilbury the seven out-going ships for the season, 1623-4, and obtained £10,000 as a compromise. The same sum was required by the king, but there is no direct evidence that he ever received it. The total prize-money was stated at 240,000 rials, or £100,000.—(Bruce's *Annals* vol. i., p. 242.)

renewal of undisguised hostility on the part of the Dutch towards the settlements of the Spanish-Portuguese; and the large armaments their lucrative trade enabled them to equip, rendered them strong enough to brave the vengeance both of their ancient foes and of their allies the English. Upon the plea that there had been a prior agreement with the natives of the Bandas, who had placed themselves under the sovereignty of the States-General, the Dutch governor, Van Coens, proceeded to the islands of Polaroön, Rosengin, and Lantore, and took possession of the factories, treating the few Englishmen he found there with the most barbarous cruelty, and executing great numbers of the natives on pretence of a conspiracy. The successor of Van Coens, Peter Carpentier, openly asserted the right of sovereignty over the countries in which the Dutch trade was situated, and declared that the English had only a title by the treaty as subordinate traders. The English factory at Bantam had been removed to Batavia on the faith of the Dutch performance of their treaty; but they soon found their mistake, and desired to return to Bantam, where, by favour of the king, their old ally, they doubted not that ten ships of 800 tons might be annually filled with pepper, provided the Javanese were allowed to bring it in without obstruction;* but to this measure the Dutch would not consent, lest the progress of their newly-erected and neighbouring sovereignty at Batavia should be thereby impeded. The English had no force wherewith to oppose the tyranny of their pretended coadjutors,

but real foes; and at length tired of remonstrance, urged the company to use every exertion to procure from the king the annulment of a treaty, whose ambiguity enabled the stronger party at will to oppress the weaker. The commercial efforts of the factors stationed at Amboyna† had proved equally unsatisfactory; they were therefore ordered by the English president and council to leave the station with their property and come to Batavia.‡ It was at this crisis that those barbarous proceedings were instituted which rendered the conduct of the Dutch at Amboyna a synonyme for cruelty.

The local government, on the plea of the formation of a plot for its expulsion, seized ten Japanese about the middle of February, 1623, and by subjecting them to excessive and repeated torture, extorted a declaration that they had been parties in a conspiracy which the English agent (Captain Towerson), with thirteen of his countrymen and one Portuguese sailor, had formed to seize on the castle of Amboyna, and exterminate the Dutch. That such a conspiracy should have been formed against an overpowering force, by a few trading agents who had no ambitious motives to prompt so daring an attempt, is highly improbable;§ but the savage persecution of the Dutch governor can hardly be accounted for, except by supposing that he and his associates were hurried on by a desire to revenge a supposed wrong; or else, that having resolved to be rid of their troublesome competitors, they first brought forward an accusation invented for the purpose, and then wrung from them,

* A frequent complaint urged against the Dutch, in the *Annals of the E. I. Cy.* is, that they sought "to bear down the merchants of every other country by raising the price, so as to render the trade unproductive to all other nations."—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 231.) But if the Dutch company, by good management of their funds, could afford to purchase pepper from the natives at so high a price as to "bear down" all competition, the means employed would seem perfectly legitimate.

† Amboyna, to the south of Ceram, is the largest of the Clove Islands: Port Victoria, the capital, lies in 3° 42' S. lat., 128° 11' E. long. The Portuguese discovered this island in 1511, and occupied it in 1564, in consequence of its valuable spices; but were driven out by the Dutch in 1607, who, as also the English, formed factories here; and by the treaty of 1619, both nations were to occupy Amboyna in common.

‡ The factories at Siam and Potania were withdrawn about the same time, also those in Japan, upon which island the Dutch had been driven during a storm in 1600: and through the influence subsequently acquired by their English pilot, "old William Adams," over the mind of the emperor, had

obtained, in 1609, permission to send two ships annually to the port of Firando. Adams, on learning the establishment of his countrymen at Bantam (which the Dutch strove to conceal from him), sent a letter to advise their opening intercourse with Japan. In June, 1613, the *Clove*, Captain Saris, with a letter from King James I., and presents in charge of a superintendent or factor, arrived. The king or governor of Firando sent Captain Saris to Jedo, the capital, where he was well received; a friendly answer returned to the royal letter, and a very liberal charter of privileges granted to the E. I. Cy. The Dutch soon instituted hostilities against the factory; plundered the ships, wounded and killed several of the English, and compelled the rest to flee for their lives, which would probably have been sacrificed as at Amboyna, but for the interference of the Japanese, who, for several years after their departure, guarded the deserted factories from plunder, in constant expectation of their return.

§ There were four strong forts, garrisoned by about 200 Dutchmen, with some 300 or 400 native troops; the English, in all, numbered about twenty men, including a surgeon and tailor, who were among the sufferers.

by intolerable anguish, a confession of guilt, the falsity of which none knew better than those who extorted it. The motives remain a mystery—as those of great public crimes often do; the cause assigned being insufficient to account for the fiend-like cruelty with which Captain Towerson and his miserable companions were by turn subjected (as the natives had previously been) to the agonies which, by the aid of those two powerful agents, fire and water, the wicked invention and pitiless will of man can inflict upon his fellow.* By the Dutch code, as by the codes of all the other continental nations of Europe, evidence obtained by torture afforded sufficient ground for legal condemnation: the English, it was alleged, were living under Dutch sovereignty, established before their arrival in the island; and on these grounds, the whole of the accused were condemned to death, and with four exceptions, beheaded on the 27th of the same month in which they were first seized—all of them protesting, with their latest breath, their entire innocence of the crime with which they were charged.† Besides the above-named persons who were reprieved, four others remained in Amboyna, whose absence at the time of the alleged conspiracy had procured their safety. The survivors were sent for by the English president and council to Batavia, so soon as the terrible end of their companions was known there, and gladly made their escape, leaving their oppressors to seize the factories and stores, and to commit all manner of cruelties on the wretched Javanese, who were shipped off in large numbers, as slaves, to different islands. The English sufferers were dispatched to London, where they arrived in August, 1624. Their representations of the horrible outrage committed in Amboyna, seconded by the protestations of innocence, written in a Bible and other books belonging to their unhappy countrymen, were sedulously circulated, and the effect heightened by the exhibition of a picture, in which the victims were represented upon the rack, writhing in agony. The press teemed with publications, enlarging upon the same subject; and the tide of popular feeling rose so high, that in default of ability to reach the true criminals, it had well nigh found

vent on the heads of the unoffending Dutch residents in London, who urgently appealed to the Privy Council for protection, and complained of the conduct of the East India directors, whose proceedings, though probably not uninfluenced by views of mis-called policy, would yet be very excusable, when viewed on the ground of indignation at the unjust and cruel sufferings inflicted on their servants.

A commission of inquiry was instituted by the king; application made to the Dutch government for signal reparation; and an order issued for intercepting and detaining the Dutch East India fleets, till an accommodation should be arranged. The evasive answer of the States was evidently framed with a view of gaining time to let the fierce but short-lived tumult of popular rage pass away, before coming to any definite arrangement. The only concession offered, deemed worth accepting, was permission for the English to retire from the Dutch settlements without paying any duties; and even this was accompanied by an unqualified assumption of the sovereign and exclusive rights of the Dutch over the Moluccas, Bandas, and Amboyna,—the very point so long contested.

King James manifested considerable energy on this occasion; but his foreign and domestic policy had acquired a reputation for weakness and vacillation, which probably militated against the success of the measures instituted in the last few months of his reign, which terminated in March, 1625. His ill-fated son succeeded to a regal inheritance heavily burdened with debt, war, and faction; which required, at least humanly speaking, the governance of one gifted with a powerful and unprejudiced intellect, and judgment wherewith to guide the helm of state—by that best rudder, the power of distinguishing the cry of faction from the desire of a nation. Had Charles I. been thus endowed, even a turbulent parliament could not have driven him to alienate the affections of his subjects by the expedients (irregular loans and ship-money) to which he had recourse. As it was, the failing power of the Crown diminished the hope of redress entertained by the company, and subjected them to danger from the

* These proceedings are narrated at length in Hall's *Cruelties of the Dutch in the East Indies*, 8vo., London, 1712: they were continued during several days, including a Sunday, and are too horrible for quotation: it must, therefore, suffice to say, that each victim was placed on the rack, and compelled to inhale water at every attempt to draw

breath, until his body became inflated and he swooned, was recovered, and the same horrible process repeated. The fire was applied by means of lighted candles, held to the elbows and other sensitive parts of the body, and relit when extinguished by the heavy sweat of agony.—(Pp. 18 to 32.)

† This fact rests on Dutch authority.

feeling against monopolies, which was evidently gaining ground in the House of Commons, stimulated by the complaints of the private traders, or interlopers, who pleaded the severities exercised against them in the Indian seas. The charter of the company was the gift of the Crown, from which they had recently received a new and important prerogative; namely—authority to punish their subjects abroad by common and martial law;* nor does the sanction of parliament appear to have been deemed necessary for the delegation of so important a trust. But a change was rapidly taking place; and the company, alarmed for the continuance of their monopoly, paid homage to the rising sun, by presenting a memorial to the Commons, in which they represented the national importance of a traffic employing shipping of 10,000 tons burden, and 2,500 men; and urged that the Dutch should be pressed to make compensation for past injuries, and discontinue their oppressive conduct in monopolising the spice-trade, which was felt the more sensibly by the English from the difficulty they experienced in opening a trade for woven goods on the coast of Coromandel. The precise condition of their finances at this period is not recorded; but it was certainly far from being a prosperous one:† nor could they foresee the issue of the efforts which their expulsion from the Indian islands compelled them to direct to the formation of settlements on the great peninsula itself. In the interim, many difficulties were to be encountered. The company's Persian trade languished under the caprice and extortions of local magistrates. Their agents, soon after the catastrophe at Am-

boyna, had quitted Java and retired to Lagundy, in the Straits of Sunda. In less than a year, the extreme unhealthiness of the island rendered them anxious to abandon it; but of 250 men, 130 were sick, and they had not a crew sufficient to navigate a ship to any of the English factories. In this emergency the Dutch assisted them, by aiding their return to Batavia; and through the steady friendship of the *Pangran*, or king of Bantam, they obtained the re-establishment of their factory there, in 1629, without opposition on the part of the Dutch, who were then actively employed in defending Batavia against the *Materam*, or emperor of Java, who unsuccessfully besieged it with 80,000 men.

In 1628-'9, the station at Armegann, on the Coromandel coast (established on a piece of ground purchased from the *Naig*, or local chief, shortly before) was fortified; twelve pieces of cannon being mounted round the factory, with a guard of twenty-three factors and soldiers. The centre of the company's trade was the presidency of Surat, where, however, they had to sustain the commercial rivalry of the Dutch, whose larger capital, and, according to Mill, more economical management,‡ enabled them to outbid the English, both in purchase and sale. The Spanish-Portuguese made an effort to retain their vanishing power; and in 1630, the viceroy of Goa having received a reinforcement from Europe of nine ships and 2,000 soldiers, projected the recovery of Ormuz, and made unsuccessful overtures to the Mogul governor of Surat to obtain the exclusive trade. He then attacked five English vessels as they entered the port of Swally; but after a short, though indecisive

* Captain Hamilton asserts, that before this time (1624), the servants of the company, having no power to inflict capital punishment by the legal mode of hanging, except for piracy, had recourse to whipping or starvation for the same end. It is very possible, that in the general license and disorder attendant on the formation, whether of factories or colonies, by men suddenly removed beyond the pale of conventional propriety, and unguided by a deeply-rooted principle of duty, that many violent deeds were committed in the profaned name of justice. Nevertheless, so serious and sweeping a charge as the above, requires some stronger confirmation than any adduced by Mr. Hamilton, who did not enter India until sixty years after the period of which he writes so freely, and who, by his own admission, has recorded much hearsay information, through the medium of what he describes as "a weak and treacherous memory." The date of the facts are in some measure a criterion how far they may be relied on. His description of scenes, in which

he had been an actor, bear the stamp of truthfulness: though, so far as the company is concerned, they are often tinged with prejudice; for the writer was himself an "interloper."—(Vide *New Account of the East Indies*, or "Observations and Remarks of Captain Hamilton, made from the year 1688 to 1723.")

† In 1627, Sir Robert Shirley, before mentioned as Persian ambassador, and one of the two brothers who so strangely ingratiated themselves with Shah Abbas, applied to the king and council to order the E. I. Co. to pay him £2,000 as compensation for his exertions and services in procuring them a trade with Persia. The directors denied the alleged service, and moreover stated, that having "been obliged to contract so large a debt as £200,000, their paramount duty was, in the first instance, to liquidate this debt, that they might raise the price of the stock, which had sunk so low as eighty per cent.—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 272.)

‡ Mill's *History of British India*, edited by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, vol. i., p. 64.

action, followed by several minor skirmishes, and one great effort to destroy their fleet by fire, the English gained the victory, and succeeded in landing their cargoes.

In 1631-'2, a subscription, amounting to £120,700, was opened for a third joint-stock fund. Its results have not been very accurately chronicled;* neither if they had would they afford matter of sufficient interest to occupy space already so limited, that the author is frequently compelled to crowd into a note that which he would otherwise have gladly woven into the text.

The Dutch were now the paramount maritime power in India: they annually sent from Holland thirty-four to forty-one ships, receiving in return from twenty-five to thirty-four rich cargoes;† and the occasional squadrons still dispatched by the Spanish-Portuguese, opposed their formidable enemy with even less success than did the brave sailors who manned the "ventures" of English, French, and Danish companies.

The revolution in Portugal, in 1640, by which, in less than a week, that kingdom regained its independence, had not its expected effect in restoring the national influence in India. The Dutch continued their conquering course; and having previously expelled the Portuguese from the Spice Islands, and Formosa in the China Seas, drove them from Malacca in 1610, Japan in 1611, and terminated a long and

severe struggle by expelling them from Ceylon in 1656. The fortified stations on the Malabar coast—Cochin, Cananore, Cranganore, Coulan, and others of minor importance, likewise changed hands;‡ but the Portuguese, on their side, had wherewith to balance, at least in part, the success of their opponents in the East Indies, by their own acquisitions in South America (the Brazils); and in 1661, a treaty was formed between Portugal and Holland, on the basis of the *Uti posseditis*—each party agreeing to be content with their reciprocal losses and advantages.

The English company, meanwhile, found it difficult to maintain even a feeble and interrupted trade; and the more so from the unfaithful conduct of their own agents at Surat.§ In 1634, permission was granted by the emperor for trade with the province of Bengal, with the restriction that the English ships were to resort only to the port of Piplée, in Orissa; and in the following year, a friendly convention was entered into with the Portuguese. This latter arrangement becoming known in England, excited hopes of extraordinary profit, and induced a number of gentlemen, headed by Sir William Courten, to form a new association for trade with India. By the intervention of Endymion Porter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, Charles I. was prevailed upon to sanction, and even to

* The effect of the company's proceedings had been for several years a subject of parliamentary discussion; and some valuable statistics regarding their early condition have come down to us in the form of documents laid before the House. It appears that from 1600 to 1621 inclusive, 86 ships were sent to India, of which 36 returned with cargoes, 9 were lost, 3 worn out in trading from port to port, 11 captured by the Dutch, and 25 accounted for as engaged in India or on their voyage home. During this time, the exports had amounted to £613,681 in bullion, and £319,211 in woollens, lead, iron, tin, and other wares, making a total of £932,892, or about £45,000 per annum: the imports realised £2,001,600, the cost of lading having been £375,288. Another paper, drawn up by order of the Commons in 1625, states, that between March, 1620, and March, 1623, 26 ships were equipped, and furnished with bullion to the amount of £205,710, and goods worth £58,806; total, £264,516. The imports during the same time, including raw silk from China and Persia, and a sum of £80,000 paid by the Dutch in accordance with the treaty of 1619, realised £1,255,444, or on an average, £313,861 per annum, and would have been much greater but for the hostilities with the Dutch. The principal objections urged on public grounds against the company were, that the exportation of specie impoverished the realm, and that the navigation of the southern seas was destructive both to the mariners and vessels

employed. In reply to these charges it was urged, that the company exported not English, but foreign coin; and that the quantity had always fallen far short of the sum authorised by the charter, and was expected to decrease yearly: with regard to the injurious results alleged to be produced on the English marine by the East India trade, the best answer was its greatly increased inefficiency.—(Monson's *Naval Tracts* in Churchill's *Voyages*—Bruce and Macpherson.) The *pro's* and *con's* of the question as urged by the political economists of that day are very curious. What would have been their surprise, could they have been forewarned of the wealth England was to receive from India; or been told that the country whose currency could, they considered, ill-bear a yearly drain of specie to the amount of £30,000, would, in 1853, be found capable of exporting £30,000,000.

† Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 49.

‡ "When will you return to India?" said a Dutch to a Portuguese officer, who was embarking for Europe after the surrender of a fortress to his antagonist.—"*When your crimes are greater than ours,*" was the instructive reply.—(*Memoirs of India*, by R. G. Wallace: London, 1824, p. 198.)

§ Instead of attending to the company's affairs, the president and council carried on a private trade, until, quarrelling among themselves, they betrayed one another, and were obliged to solicit the leniency of their far-distant employers.—(Bruce, i., 325.)

accept a share in the proposed adventure. The preamble to the license, which was granted for a term of five years, alleges that the East India Company had neglected to establish fortified factories or seats of trade, to which the king's subjects could resort with safety; that they had broken the conditions on which their charter had been granted; and had generally accomplished nothing for the good of the nation, in proportion to the great privileges they had enjoyed, or even to the funds of which they had disposed. These allegations, were they true, could not justify the breach of faith now committed: had the monopoly been clearly proved injurious to the nation, nothing beyond the stipulated three years' notice was necessary to its legal abrogation. The company remonstrated and petitioned without success: and one Captain Weddel, who had been previously engaged in their service, proceeded to the East Indies with six ships, and there occasioned the agents of his former employers great inconvenience, both by interfering with their trade, and by drawing upon them the hostility of the natives, who naturally suspected actual collusion, hid beneath the apparent rivalry of men of the same nation. In 1637-'8, several of Courten's ships returned with cargoes, which produced an ample profit to the association; and a new license was conceded, continuing their privileges for five years. The old company, who had never ceased complaining and petitioning against the Dutch, had now a second source of anxiety, to which a third was soon added; for the king, in his distress for funds wherewith to carry on the Scottish war, compelled them to make over to him, on credit, the whole of the pepper they had in store, and then disposed of it at a reduced price for ready money.* Lord Cottington and others be-

came sureties for the king, who, when they were pressed for its repayment, exerted himself for their relief and the liquidation of the debt; but his power soon ceased; and what (if any) portion of their claim the company eventually recovered, is not known. It was while matters were in their worst state of distress and embarrassment at home, that the first English stations destined to prove of permanent importance in India were formed.† The position of Armegaun had been found inconvenient for providing the "piece-goods"‡ which constituted the principal item of exportation from the Coromandel coast; the permission of Sree Ranga Raya, the rajah of Chandragiri,§ granted in 1610, for the establishment of a settlement at Madras (sixty-six miles south of Armegaun) was therefore eagerly embraced, and the creation of *Fort St. George* immediately commenced by the chief local agent, Mr. Day. The court, or executive committee in London, deemed the enterprise hazardous, and inclined to its abandonment; but by the advice of the president and council of Surat, the defences were continued, though on a very limited scale. Madras remained subordinate to the distant station of Bantam until 1653; but was then raised to a presidency. Lest its importance should be over-rated, it may be well to add, that the garrison of the fort at this latter period amounted only to twenty-six English soldiers, and, in 1654-'5, was ordered to be diminished to a guard of ten, and the civil establishment to two factors.

The settlement of a trading post at Hooghly forms another early and important link in the chain of circumstances, that from slender beginnings, under a policy of the most irregular and uncertain character, has terminated in the formation of that extraordinary power, called by some

* The king bought 607,522 bags of pepper, at 2s. 1d. per lb.=£63,283 11s. 6d.: and sold it at 1s. 8d. = £50,626 17s. 1d.—(Bruce, vol. i., p. 371.)

† The affairs of the third joint-stock were wound up in 1640, and the original capital divided, with a profit, in eleven years, of only thirty-five per cent—little more than three per cent. per annum. In the following year, £67,500 were subscribed for a single voyage; and in 1643, about £105,000 were raised for a fourth joint-stock. The attempts made, with this small sum, were very unfortunate: one ship, valued at £35,000, was wrecked; and another, with a cargo worth £20,000, was carried into Bristol by her commander (Captain Macknel), and delivered over for the king's use, during the civil war in which the nation was then involved. The company borrowed money both at home and abroad; and, in 1646, their debts, in England, amounted to £122,000.

Their effects are stated as follows:—"Quick stock at Surat, £83,600; at Bantam, £60,731; in shipping and stores, £31,180; and customs at Gombroon, estimated at £5,000: forming a total of £180,511."—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i., p. 27.)

‡ The general term applied to the muslins and woove-goods of India and China.

§ A descendant of Venkatadri, brother of the famous Rama Rajah, the last sovereign of Beejanuggur (see p. 97.) In compliment to the naik, or local governor, who first invited the English to change their settlement, the new station was named after his father, Chenna-patam, and is still so called by the natives, though Europeans use an abbreviation of its previous designation—Madras-patam. The territory granted extended five miles along-shore and one mile inland.—(Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, and Orme's *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 229.)

an empire of chance, but really an empire of Providence. Jehanara, the favourite daughter of Shah Jehan, in retiring one night from the imperial presence to her own apartments, set her dress on fire in passing one of the lamps which lit the corridor, and fearful of calling for assistance while the male guards of the palace were within hearing, rushed into the harem all on fire, and was fearfully burned before the flames could be extinguished. The most famous physicians were summoned from different parts of the empire, and the surgeons of the English East-Indiamen having obtained considerable repute for cures performed on some Mogul nobles, an express was sent to Surat for one of them. Mr. Gabriel Boughton was selected for the important office, and having been instrumental in aiding the recovery of the princess, was desired by Shah Jehan to name his reward. With rare disinterestedness, Boughton asked exclusively for benefits to the company he served; and in return for this and subsequent attendance on the household of the emperor and Prince Shuja, the governor of Bengal, he obtained a licence for unlimited trade throughout the empire, with freedom from custom-dues in all places except Surat, and permission to erect factories, which was availed of by their establishment at several places, especially Hooghly, from whence the Portuguese had been expelled in 1633.* Authorities agree with regard to the leading facts of the above occurrences, with one important exception—the date, which is variously stated as 1636,† 1640,‡ and 1651–2. Bruce, the careful annalist of the *E. I. Cy.*, fixes the latter period for the formation of the Hooghly factory, but his notice of Boughton is scanty and unsatisfactory, probably from the character of the data on which it was founded; for the “cautious mercantile silence”§ observed by the company extended to their records; and while striving to make the most of their claims upon the country at large, and to represent at its highest value the “dead stock” acquired in India, in the shape of trading licences, forts, factories, &c., they were naturally by no means

anxious to set forth the easy terms on which some of their most important privileges had been obtained. During the concluding years of the reign of Charles I., they maintained a struggling and fitful commerce. In 1647–’8, when the king was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and the power of the parliament supreme, a new subscription was set on foot, and strenuous endeavours made to induce members of the legislature to subscribe, in the hope that the English, like the Dutch company, might ensure the protection of the state, through the influence of its chief counsellors. This project seems to have failed; and in 1649–’50, attempts to form another joint-stock were renewed, and carried out by means of a junction with Courten’s association, now designated the “Assada Merchants,” in consequence of their having formed a settlement on an island called by that name, near Madagascar.

The establishment of the Commonwealth changed the direction, but not the character of the solicitations of the company. They now appealed to Cromwell and his Council for redress from the Dutch, and the renewal of their charter. The first claim met with immediate attention, and formed a leading feature in the national grievances urged against Holland. The famous Navigation Act, prohibiting the importation of any foreign commodities, except in English vessels, or those of the countries wherein they were produced, though, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, absolutely requisite for the encouragement of the British navy, was felt by the Dutch as a measure peculiarly levelled against the carrying trade, so important to their national prosperity; and ambassadors were sent to Cromwell to solicit its repeal. The war which followed his refusal, involved the feeble settlements of the English in India in great danger, and almost suspended their coasting-trade; but the success of their countrymen in Europe, soon delivered them from this peril. Cromwell reduced the Dutch to the necessity of accepting peace on terms of his dictation; and a treaty was concluded at Westminster, in 1654, in which a clause was inserted for the appointment of a commission, composed

* They had settled there subsequent to the termination of Faria y Sousa’s history, in 1640: for an account of their expulsion by Shah Jehan, see p. 131.

† Malcolm’s *Political India*, vol. i., p. 18.

‡ Stewart states that Boughton was sent to the imperial camp, in the Deccan, in 1636; and that factories were established at Balasore and Hooghly, in 1640.—(*History of Bengal*, p. 252.) Dow mentions

the accident of the princess as occurring in 1643, but does not name Boughton.—(*Hindoostan*, vol. iii., p. 190.) It appears that no firman was issued, but only a “nishan,” or order from Prince Shuja, with warrants from the local governors; but, in 1680, Aurungzebe confirmed the grant of Shah Jehan.

§ Bruce’s *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, from 1600 to Union of London and English Cos., in 1707–’8, i., 426.

of four Dutch and four English members, to examine into and decide upon the claims of their respective nations, and to award punishment to all survivors concerned in the perpetration of the cruelties at Amboyna, in 1623.* In the event of the commissioners being unable to come to a decision, within a specified time, their differences of opinion were to be submitted to the arbitration of the Protestant Swiss cantons.

The claims of both parties, as might be expected from the circumstances of the case, bear evident marks of exaggeration, though to what degree it would be difficult to judge. The English company estimated their damages, as ascertained by a series of accounts from 1611 to 1652, at £2,695,999 15s.; the Dutch, at £2,919,861 13s. 6d. The award of the commissioners set aside the balance claimed by the latter, and allotted to the English the sum of £85,000, and £3,615 to the heirs or executors of those who had suffered at Amboyna. Polaroon was likewise to be ceded by the Dutch; but they long endeavoured to evade compliance with this stipulation; and when, after the lapse of many years, the island was at length surrendered,† the nutmeg plantations, which had constituted its chief value, were found to have been all purposely destroyed.

The English company were not well pleased with the amount adjudged to them, and their dissatisfaction was greatly increased by Cromwell's proposition to borrow the £85,000 in question, until its distribution should be arranged. The directors asserted that the different stocks were £50,000 in debt, and many of the proprietors in difficult circumstances;‡ but that they would consent to spare £50,000, to be repaid by instalments in eighteen months, provided the remaining £35,000 were immediately assigned them to relieve their more pressing

liabilities, and make a dividend to the shareholders.

The application of the company for a confirmation, under the republic, of the exclusive privileges granted under the monarchy, was not equally successful. It is not necessary to enter into the question of whether the well-grounded aversion entertained by the public towards the monopolies of soap, wine, leather, salt, &c., bestowed by the Crown on individuals, extended to the charters granted for special purposes to large associated bodies; the fact remains, that so far from obtaining a confirmation of their privileges, the E. I. Cy., in 1654, beheld with dismay their virtual abrogation in the licences granted by Cromwell to separate undertakings. The rivalry of disconnected traders was unimportant in comparison with that of the so-called Merchant Adventurers, who were proprietors of the united stock formed in 1649, and who now took their chance, in common with other speculators. By their exertions, four ships were equipped for the Indian trade, under the management of a committee. The news of these events created great excitement in Holland; and instead of rejoicing over the downfall of an old rival, the Dutch company appear to have been filled with consternation, either fearing that the example might lead to the destruction of their monopoly, or else that it would open the door to more dangerous competition from the English at large. The experiment of open trade with India was, however, of too brief continuance to afford conclusive evidence regarding the permanent effects it was calculated to produce on British commerce;§ for in 1657, the Protector and Council of State decided upon the management of a corporate body vested with exclusive privileges, as the most efficacious method of carrying on the Indian traffic. A new charter was accorded, and a coalition effected

* It does not appear that this latter part of the agreement was ever fulfilled.

† In 1665: Damm, an island near Banda, was occupied by the English in the same year; but they were driven out by a Dutch force, on the plea of a prior right. The war between England and Holland gave the Dutch an opportunity for regaining Polaroon; and by the pacification of Breda in 1667, the British government tacitly surrendered both Polaroon and Damm, in consideration of more important objects gained by that treaty.

‡ "At the same time," says Mill, "it is matter of curious uncertainty who these directors were, whom they represented, by what set or sets of proprietors they were chosen, or to whom they were responsible."—(Vol. i., p. 861.)

§ Numerous pamphlets, published during the paper war which raged towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, are still extant. On one side, it was argued, that the cheapness and abundance of Indian products (especially indigo and calico), which resulted from the open trade, attested its beneficial influence on the nation; but the advocates of the company, in reply, asserted that this was merely a temporary excitement, sure to produce a reaction. With regard to the adventurers themselves, it has been alleged, that they were eminently successful; but Anderson remarks, "it is generally said that even the interlopers, or separate traders, were losers in the end;" and he adds, "so difficult is it to come at the real truth where interest is nearly concerned on both sides."—(Vol. ii., p. 444.)

between the E. I. Cy. and the Merchant Adventurers. By their united efforts a subscription was raised, amounting to £786,000, and arrangements, already too long delayed, entered into with the owners of the preceding funds; all the forts, privileges, and immunities obtained in India and Persia being made over to the new association, in full right, for the sum of £20,000, and the ships or merchandise similarly transferred at a valuation. Thus the directors had henceforth a single fund to manage, and a single interest to pursue; but, unfortunately for them, the joint-stock was not as yet a definite and invariable sum placed beyond the power of resumption, the shares only transferable by purchase and sale in the market. On the contrary, their capital was variable and fluctuating,—formed by the sums which, on the occasion of each voyage, the individuals who were free of the company chose to pay into their hands, receiving credit for the amount in the company's books, and proportional dividends on the profits of the voyage. Of this stock, £500 entitled a proprietor to a vote in the general courts; and the shares were transferable even to such as were not free of the company, on payment of an admission-fee of £5. A defective system, and inadequate resources, together with the hostility of the Dutch, and the disturbed state of the Deccan during the long reign of Aurungzebe, combined to render the operations of the company in India languid and inconsiderable. Yet, during this period of depression, several events occurred which had an important bearing on their after-history: in the words of Robert Grant, "amidst the storms under which it was bending,—if we may not rather say from the very effects of them,—the British authority silently struck some deep roots into the eastern continent."*

The death of Cromwell, and the restoration of monarchy under Charles II., proved fortunate events to the corporation; for the Protector, notwithstanding his decision in their favour, had shown a continued inclina-

* *Sketch of the History of the E. I. Cy.*, page 20.

† Shortly before his death, Cromwell licensed a Mr. Rolt to export three mortars and 20,000 shells, to be disposed of to Aurungzebe, then engaged in rebellion against his father. The company directed the Surat presidency to seize on these articles as illicit; and the more effectually to frustrate the speculation, sent large quantities of ordnance, mortars, shells, &c., desiring the different presidencies to dispose of them at the best price to either of the four rival princes who should first apply for them, preserving meanwhile a strict neutrality.—(Bruce, i., 39.)

tion to sanction private adventure, at least in exceptional cases;† while the king evinced no desire to question or infringe their exclusive claims, but confirmed them in the fullest manner in April, 1661, and empowered them to make peace or war with any prince or people not Christians; and to seize unlicensed persons within their limits, and send them to England. These two privileges, added to the administration of justice, consigned almost the whole powers of government over "all plantations, forts, fortifications, factories, or colonies" already or hereafter to be acquired by the company, to the discretion of the directors and their servants—not for a stated term, but in perpetuity, with, however, the usual condition of termination after three years' notice, if found injurious to the sovereign or the public.‡ Two months after the renewal of the charter, Charles married the Infanta Catherine, and received, as a portion of her dowry, a grant of the island of Bombay from the crown of Portugal. The Earl of Marlborough, with 500 troops, commanded by Sir Abraham Shipman, were dispatched to India on the king's behalf, to demand possession of the island and its dependencies (Salsette and Tanna).§ The Portuguese governor took advantage of the indefinite wording of the treaty, and refused to deliver over any territory beyond Bombay itself; and even that he delayed to surrender till further instructions, on the pretext that the letters or patent produced did not accord with the usages of Portugal. The troops were dying day by day, in consequence of long confinement on board ship, and their commander requested the president of Surat (Sir George Oxenden), to make arrangements for their reception, but was refused, on the ground that such a proceeding might excite the anger of the Mogul government. In this emergency, the Earl of Marlborough returned to England, and Sir Abraham Shipman proceeded to the little island of Anjediva, twelve leagues distant from Goa, where, being cooped up in au

† A clause in this charter confirmed to the company the possession of St. Helena, which they had taken possession of in 1651, as a convenient station for the refreshment of homeward-bound vessels, the Dutch having previously abandoned it for the Cape of Good Hope. Here, as in Bombay, they were empowered to frame and execute laws "as near as might be" conformable to the constitution of England; a direction not sufficiently observed.

§ He urged that the cession of these isles could not have been intended, since it would lay the important station of Bassein open to the English.

unhealthy position, and distressed for provisions, he offered to cede the rights of the English Crown to the representatives of the company at Surat. The proposition was rejected, for the two-fold reason that it was unauthorised, and that the presidency had not a sufficient force to occupy and maintain the island. At length, after Sir Abraham and the majority of the soldiers had perished, the survivors, about 100 in number, were suffered to take possession of Bombay, in December, 1664,* on terms prescribed by the Portuguese. The governmental expenses being found to exceed the revenue of the island, it was transferred to the E. I. Co. in 1668;† “to be held of the king in free and common socage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, on the payment of the annual rent of ten pounds in gold,” and with the place itself was conveyed authority to exercise all political powers necessary to its defence and government.‡

Bombay, from its insular position, proved a very important acquisition, especially to the presidency of Surat, from which it was situated within a sail of 200 miles,—a very practicable distance considered with respect to the extensive range of the Indo-British establishments. The fortifications were diligently enlarged and strengthened; and in about six years the ordnance of the garrison,

* This date is memorable for the first importation of tea into England by the E. I. Co., a small quantity being brought as a present for the king. No public order was given for its purchase until 1667; when the agent at Bantam was desired “to send home by these ships 100 lbs. weight of the best tea that you can gett.”—(Bruce, ii., 211.) This article became the chief item in the trade with China, to be described under the head of *Hong-Kong*.

† Probably it was intended thereby to recompense the company for the annulment of their claims to Polaron and Damm, mentioned in a previous note; and also for the cession of their possessions on the coast of Africa (obtained through their junction with the Assada merchants), to the company formed by the Duke of York, for the hateful slave-trade.

‡ The question of the proprietorship of the land at Bombay is nowhere very definitely stated as regards the native owners. The Jesuits claimed considerable portions, as appertaining to their college at Bundera, and vainly strove to establish their pretensions by force.—(Annals, ii., 214.) Authority was subsequently given for the purchase of lands in the vicinity of the fort to the extent of £1,500. A subsequent record states that the inhabitants had paid the King of Portugal one-fourth of the profit of their lands as a quit-rent, which President Angier commuted for an annual sum of 20,000 xeraphins, reserving to the company the right of military service.—(iii., 105.)

§ The sobriety and regularity of the German recruits are particularly praised in the communications of 1676-7, and a request made, that a proportion should be annually embarked to supply the frequent

which, at the time of the cession, consisted of twenty-one pieces of cannon, was augmented to 100. Every encouragement was held out, both to European and native settlers. A remission of customs was proclaimed for five years, looms were provided, houses built, and a system of administration framed with especial regard to the opinions and customs of the motley population, comprising English and Germans,§ Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Parsees. In 1675-6, the revenues were nearly doubled, having increased from £6,490 (75,000 xeraphins) to £12,037 sterling.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 87.) Letters-patent were granted by Charles II., in 1676, for the establishment of a mint at Bombay for the coinage of rupees and pice,|| to pass current in all the dependences of the company. A system was adopted, about the same time, for the general regulation of the service on the principle of seniority ever after maintained; the gradations of apprentices, writers, factors, merchants, and senior merchants being then established.

The position of the company at this period was a very critical one: in England, notwithstanding the decided patronage of the Crown, their severe treatment of interlopers produced fierce altercations between the two houses of parliament,¶ and their pecuniary involvements induced them to direct their vacancies caused by the climate. A militia was formed, and in 1672-3, on an alarm from the Dutch, the assistance of 500 Rajpoots was requested.

|| The rupee was then valued at about three shillings: a pice, at a halfpenny.—(Bruce's *Annals*.)

¶ A memorable instance of this strife occurred in the case of a merchant, named Skinner, who applied to government for redress against the E. I. Co., for having seized his ship and merchandise in India, in 1658. His complaint was referred by the king to the Privy Council, and thence to the House of Peers, by whom the directors were ordered to answer at the bar the charge brought against them. They refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Peers, and appealed to the Commons against this infraction of their chartered privileges. The Lords decreed judgment, by awarding £5,000 damages to Skinner, upon which the Commons passed some condemnatory resolutions regarding the Upper House, and seizing the successful petitioner, sent him to the Tower. The Lords, in reprisal for Skinner's incarceration, ordered Sir Samuel Barnadiston and three other leading members of the contumacious company into confinement, and declared their memorial false and scandalous: while the Lower House in turn, resolved, that whoever should execute the sentence of the Lords in favour of Skinner, would prove himself a betrayer of the rights and liberties of the Commons of England. To such a height did these contentions proceed, that the king prorogued parliament seven times on this account; and at length, in 1670, when, after some intermission, the controversy again revived, he sent for the members of both

servants in India to borrow the money necessary for procuring investments or cargoes for Europe, "without being limited either in the amount, or the rate of interest."* In the year 1673-'4, the president of Surat stated that the Indian debts amounted to £100,000, exclusive of the rapid accumulation of them by the payment of high interest;† and for the liquidation of these sums, the only source as yet available was the balance of trade. Nor was it always practicable to raise loans on any terms; for the native bankers and dealers, called Shroffs and Banians, who took off the imports of European traders in large quantities, and advanced money when the supply sent out was insufficient to provide cargoes for the expected shipping, were themselves constantly exposed to the arbitrary exactions of their own government, which they strove to escape by calling in their capital, and burying it till better times enabled them to employ it with impunity. These difficulties induced the president and council to urge that money should be borrowed in England at four per cent., rather than taken up in India at double the cost, or, as frequently happened, no funds being available to provide investments, the ships kept waiting for return cargoes until the arrival of a fresh supply of bullion. Territorial revenue began to be looked to as the remedy for these evils, and

political influence courted as a means of commercial prosperity. There was no established power under whose protection foreign traders could place themselves, and to whose legitimate authority they could offer, in return, hearty and undivided allegiance. Their earliest territorial suzerain, the rajah of Chandragiri, had been overpowered by Meer Jumla, the general of the King of Golconda, about the year 1656, and Mohammedan rule extended over the territory in which Madras was situated. The English suffered no inconvenience from the change; but were, on the contrary, especially favoured by the usurping sovereign, who suffered their money to pass current, and conferred upon them several valuable privileges. They continued to pay him an annual quit-rent of 1,200 pagodas, until about 1687-'8, when his power being considerably weakened by the aggressions of Aurungzebe, they appear to have taken advantage of some flimsy pretext to withhold their tribute. By the Great Mogul the English were likewise well treated; and had he possessed unquestioned supremacy over the places in which their trade was situated, their policy would have been comparatively plain and easy, and their difficulties would have consisted almost exclusively in the rivalry of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Danes, to which list the French‡ had been recently added. But the rise of

houses to Whitehall, and by personal persuasion, induced them to erase from their journals all their votes, resolutions, and other acts relating to the subject. The company came off victors; for Skinner, it would appear, never got any portion of the compensation adjudged to him.—(Anderson, ii., 461.)

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 202. † *Idem*, 342.

‡ The ministers of Louis XIV., Cardinal Richelieu and the great Colbert, had directed their attention to the commercial and naval interests of France. Colbert, especially, laboured in this cause with extraordinary zeal and success. In 1642, a settlement was made in Madagascar, preparatory to the extension of French power in the Eastern seas; but the adventurers, through their wanton cruelty, became involved in contests with the brave natives (Malagash), and notwithstanding repeated attempts, were unable to secure a footing in this rich island. In 1664, Colbert formed an E. I. Cy. on the model of that of Holland, with a very privileged charter for fifty years, and a stock of £625,000, partly raised by loan. Four ships were sent to Madagascar; and in 1668 a factory was commenced at Surat, then the general resort of European nations. But the French soon looked to political rather than to commercial prospects; and under the direction of an experienced man, named Caron (who, disgusted with the ill-treatment received from the Dutch after long and valuable service, had quitted their employ), surveyed the coasts of India for an eligible site whereon to lay the foundation of French power. The

fine harbour of Trincomalee, in Ceylon, was judiciously selected, and taken possession of by a French squadron, under La Haye: hostilities ensued between the French and Dutch E. I. Companies; but the former losing many men by sickness, were soon expelled, and proceeded to the coast of Coromandel, where they captured St. Thomas, or Meliampoor. The Dutch co-operated with the King of Golconda, and the French garrison being reduced to the extremity of famine, were compelled to surrender. The survivors, under the guidance of a Mr. Martin, who, like Caron, had previously been in the service of the Dutch company, purchased from the King of Beejapoor, a village upon the coast called Pondicherry, with a small adjacent territory, and there formed the settlement eventually of so much importance. By his prudent measures the place became rapidly populous, and being desirous to put it in a state of defence during the disturbed state of the country, he obtained permission for the erection of fortifications, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, who endeavoured to bribe the King of Beejapoor to withdraw his protection, and permit them to expel the new settlers; but the firm reply was, "The French have fairly purchased the place; I shall not be so unjust as to take it from them."—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, p. 260.) The Beejapoor monarchy was overthrown by Aurungzebe in 1686. The Dutch overpowered the French garrison, and drove them out in 1693; then, desirous to secure their conquest, immediately improved and strengthened the

the Mahrattas, under Sevajee—a native power under a native leader—greatly changed the state of affairs. At first, the English were disposed to follow the example of their imperial patron, and treat the new leader as a mere marauder—a captain of banditti—whose attempts at friendly communication were to be evaded, without however, unnecessarily provoking a foe whose anger and alliance were both to be avoided.

When Sevajee advanced against Surat in 1664, the terror of his name had already taken such deep root, that the governor shut himself up in the castle, and the inhabitants fled from the city. The Dutch and English remained in their factories; and the latter, calling in the ships' crews to their aid, by courage and determination succeeded in preserving their own property, and that of their immediate neighbours, from pillage. Aurungzebe rewarded this service by a firmaun, conceding one per cent. out of his three per cent. custom duties, and a total exemption from all transit charges. In 1670, the place was again approached by Sevajee. The French, who had established a factory there, preserved it by paying a contribution:* the Dutch station being without the town, was not attacked: the English, having transported the greater part of their goods on board ship to Swally, prepared to guard the remainder at all hazards. The factory was assailed, but successfully defended by the English, though several lives were lost, as well as some property in detached warehouses. The Mahrattas then threatened to set the factory on fire; but Sevajee was unwilling to proceed to extremities, being desirous to induce them to return as traders to Rajapoor, which they had quitted on account of his exactions. A complimentary present offered to Sevajee, was very gratifying to him. He extended his hand to the English deputies, with an assurance that he would do them no wrong; and on several subsequent occasions negotiations were set on foot, which, however, the English endeavoured to evade bringing to any definite conclusion, by demanding compensation for the injuries re-

works: but their labour proved ill-bestowed; for the place was restored to its rightful owners by the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697.—(Raynal's *E. and W. Indies*.)

* Wilson's note on Mill, vol. i., p. 99. Grant Duff says, "the French purchased an ignominious neutrality, by permitting the Mahrattas to pass through their factory to attack an unfortunate Tartar prince who was on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, and whose property [including a vast treasure in

ceived from the Mahrattas at Surat and elsewhere. This stipulation was conceded in 1674, and a treaty formed, by which 10,000 pagodas were promised to the aggrieved party, and the long-maintained right deemed inherent in the sovereign over all wrecks on the shores of his territory, relinquished in favour of English vessels. The enthronement of Sevajee took place at this time, and the envoy beheld with amazement a portion of the magnificent ceremonial, with its costly and characteristic feature,—the weighing of the person of the new sovereign against gold coin to be distributed among the Brahmins, as an act of reverence to their order, accompanied by the performance of many munificent acts of charity.† The Mogul government watched with jealous distrust this growing intercourse, and the English found great difficulty in maintaining a neutral position. In 1677-'8, the directors of the E. I. Cy., or, as they were then termed, the Court of Committees, "recommended temporising expedients to their servants as the rule of their proceedings with the Mogul, with Sevajee, and with the petty rajahs," as the means of obtaining compliance with the various firmauns and grants already acquired; and desired them to endeavour, by their conduct, to impress the natives with an opinion of their commercial probity. "At the same time," says Bruce, "they gave to President Aungier and his council [at Surat] discretionary powers to employ armed vessels to enforce the observance of treaties and grants: in this way the court shifted from themselves the responsibility of commencing hostilities, that they might be able, in any questions which might arise between the king and the company, to refer such hostilities to the errors of their servants."‡ This writer is too intimately acquainted with the company's proceedings, and too decidedly their champion, to be accused of putting an unfair construction on any of their directions. It was evidently necessary that considerable latitude should be given by masters so far removed from the scene of action; but subsequent events indicate that plans of terri-

gold, silver, and plate, a gold bed and other rich furniture], became part of Sevajee's boasted spoils on this occasion."—(*History of Mahrattas*, i., 247.)

† Dr. Fryer mentions that he weighed about 16,000 pagodas, equal to about ten stone. The titles assumed by Sevajee were,—the head ornament of the *Cshatriya* race, his majesty, the *rajah* *Seva*, possessor or lord of the royal umbrella.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 406-'7.

torial aggrandisement, to be carried out by force of arms, were already entertained.

The governmental expenses of Bombay (civil and military) were found to be very heavy; and as a means of meeting them, taxes were raised and salaries diminished; that of the deputy-governor, the second in rank in the service, being reduced to £120 per annum. Great dissatisfaction was created by these changes, especially by the diminution of the garrison; soon after which the trade of the place was menaced by two sterile isles in the neighbourhood (Henery and Kenery) being taken possession of respectively by Sevajee and his opponent, the Siddee, or Abyssinian leader, who held the position of admiral of the Mogul fleet.* The English were obliged to conclude a humiliating truce with both parties, and thus purchase freedom from interruption to their trade, until the abandonment of these barren rocks relieved them from alarm on that score.

The death of Sevajee, in 1680; the appointment of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Child as president of Surat, with a council of eight members, in 1681; the erection of an independent agency in Bengal, in 1682; and the expulsion, in the same year, of the English from Bantam,† were rapidly followed by other important events. The system of injudicious retrenchment attempted at Madras and Surat, and persevered in at Bombay,‡ ended in producing a revolt in that island. Captain Keigwin, the commander of the garrison, which comprised 150 English soldiers and 200 topasses (natives), seized the deputy-governor, with such of the council as adhered to him, assembled the militia and inhabitants, and being by them appointed governor of the island, issued a proclamation declaring the authority of the company to be annulled in Bombay, and that of the Crown substituted

* Siddee, or Seedee, is a corruption of an Arabic term, signifying a lord; but in the common language of the Deccan, it came to be applied indiscriminately to all natives of Africa. The Siddees of Jinjeera took their name from a small fortified island in the Concan, where a colony had been formed on a jaghire, granted, it appears, in the first instance, to an Abyssinian officer, by the king of Ahmednuggur, on condition of the maintenance of a marine for the protection of trade, and the conveyance of pilgrims to the Red Sea. The hostility of Sevajee induced the Siddee, or chief, to seek favour with Aurungzebe, by whom he was made admiral of the Mogul fleet, with an annual salary of four lacs of rupees (£10,000) for conveying pilgrims to Judda and Mocha. The emperor himself sent an annual donation to Meecca of three lacs.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, Bruce, and Orme.)

in its place. President Child had no force wherewith to compel the submission of the insurgents; and his attempts at negotiation were decidedly rejected, on the plea that the measures which had led to the rebellion, had originated solely in the selfish policy of himself and his brother, Sir Josiah Child, the chairman of the Court of Committees.

The king was appealed to by both parties; and in November, 1684, the island was delivered up by Keigwin to Sir Thomas Grantham, as the representative of the Crown, on condition of a free pardon for himself and all concerned. To prevent the recurrence of a similar disturbance, the seat of government was removed from Surat to Bombay; and for the suppression of the interlopers, who were believed to have been intimately concerned in the late revolt, admiralty jurisdiction was established in India, by virtue of letters-patent granted by James II., in 1686. Sir John Child was appointed captain-general and admiral of the forces of the E. I. Cy., both by sea and land, in the northern parts of India, from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia, and he was likewise entrusted with supreme authority over all the settlements. The weapons thus furnished were used with an unhesitating determination, which has rendered the conduct of the plenary representative of the powers delegated to the company a subject of unqualified panegyric, and of equally exaggerated blame. The truth probably lies between these extremes. The brothers Child were men of considerable ability, and deeply interested in the fortunes of the company, whose affairs devolved chiefly on their management. They were led, by a very natural process, to contrast the flourishing state of the Dutch trade with their own depressed condition, and to seek for the cause of the comparative, if not complete exemption of the rival company from the unlicensed competition of their countrymen,

† In 1677, the principal agents at Bantam were assassinated by some of the natives, on what ground, or by what (if any) instigation, does not appear. The company persevered, nevertheless, in endeavouring to maintain commercial intercourse; and friendly embassies, accompanied by presents of tea on the part of the King of Bantam, and of gunpowder on the part of the English sovereign, were continually dispatched, until a civil war, instigated by the Dutch, terminated in the deposal of the old king by his son, who, in obedience to his domineering allies, expelled the English from their factory in 1682, and never permitted their re-establishment in his territories.

‡ In 1682-'3, the European garrison, reduced to at least 100 men, "were daily murmuring at the price of provisions, which their pay could not afford."—(Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, ii., 489.)

and from the delinquency of their servants. Whether they examined and compared the commercial details of the two associations does not appear, nor whether they made due allowance for the heavy drain occasioned by the large subsidies, or, as the anti-monopolists called them, bribes, furnished to Charles II. and James II., not, however, for the private use of these monarchs, since the monies in question are said to have been paid into the exchequer for the public service.* Be this as it may, the remedy for existing evils constantly put forth by the company during the administration of Sir Josiah Child, was a close imitation of the policy of the successful and unscrupulous Dutch, whose aggressive conduct towards the natives had its counterpart in the sanguinary decree for the infliction of capital punishment on all interlopers and deserters. Sir Josiah Child certainly understood the mind of the English public at the close of the seventeenth century far too well to press the adoption of such a law, whatever his own wishes on the subject might have been. He contented himself with urging the suppression of private trade by more gentle means, at the same time advocating the attainment of independent power in India, by the enlargement and strenuous assertion of the authority of the company over British subjects within the limits of their charter; and, secondly, of retaliative, if not aggressive hostilities against the Indian princes. The administration of Shaista Khan, as "Nabob,"† or governor of Bengal, was alleged to have been vexatious and oppressive in the extreme; and amicable negotiations having failed in procuring redress, it was thought practicable to obtain better terms by force of arms. Accordingly, the largest military armament‡ ever yet assembled by the company, was dispatched to India, with orders to gain possession of the city and territory

of Chittagong as a place of future security, and thence retaliate upon the Nabob, and even upon the Mogul himself, the injuries and losses which had already been sustained. Bombay was elevated to the rank of a regency, after the example of the Dutch at Batavia and Columbo; and orders were given to increase the fortifications, and render the island "as strong as art and money could make it."§ Madras was formed into a corporation, to consist of a mayor and ten aldermen (of whom three were to be the company's servants and seven natives), with 120 burgesses.|| An offer was made by the garrison of Fort St. George (Madras), to aid the King of Golconda against the Dutch, with whom he was then at war; and in return, a firman was to be solicited to coin rupees, together with the grant of St. Thomas as an English possession. Thus the company were desirous of attaining political influence in all directions; and their views were seconded with much energy by Sir John Child, who, following the spirit of the instructions cited in a previous page, resolved to commence hostilities against Aurungzebe, as if on his own responsibility; so that in the event of an unfavourable issue to the expedition, an opportunity might be provided of negotiating for the restoration of former privileges and trade, upon the same basis as they had stood previously to his apparently unsanctioned proceedings.

By some casualty the whole force did not arrive in the Ganges at the same time; and an insignificant quarrel between three English soldiers and the "peons," or native police of the Nabob, brought on the contest in an unexpected manner, in October, 1686. Hooghly was cannonaded by the fleet under Captain Nicholson, and 500 houses were burnt, upon which the fujdar, or military governor, made overtures for peace; but the demands of the English were so exces-

be appointed; a sword and mace to be carried before the mayor, and a silver oar before the judge-advocates—ceremonies which must have been very puzzling to the native aldermen. Some difficulty occurred in carrying this project into execution; for although the inhabitants soon recognised the beneficial effect of the new measure, the mixed description of persons considered proper for the court of aldermen could not be obtained. No Armenian could be induced to act; the Jews left the place; the Portuguese feared their countrymen and the Inquisition too much to accept office; and the local authorities considered it unsafe to "confide in the Moors or Mussulmen."—(Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, ii., 593; 659; iii., 111; 156.) With regard to the Hindoos, no objection appears to have been raised either by or against them.

* Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 105-6.

† An English corruption of the Arabic word *Najib* or the Persian *Nauwab* (meaning deputy), applied to the imperial subahdars or governors.

‡ Ten armed vessels, from twelve to seventy guns, and six companies of infantry, without captains, whose places were to be supplied by the members of council, in Bengal. In addition to this force, application was made to the king for an entire company of regular infantry, with their officers.

§ Bruce, vol. iii., p. 586. It was stated in 1691-'2, that £400,000 had been spent in fortifying and improving Bombay, including the harbour, docks, &c.

|| The aldermen were to be justices of the peace, and to wear thin scarlet gowns, and the burgesses black silk gowns: a town-clerk and recorder were to

sive, amounting to above sixty-six lacs of rupees, or nearly £700,000, that they could scarcely have expected compliance. On the side of Surat considerable advantage was at first gained by the capture of a number of Moorish vessels, richly freighted;* and also in Bengal, through the determined conduct of Job Charnock, the company's agent, by whom the Nabob's forces were repulsed in repeated assaults, the fort of Tanna stormed, the island of Injellee seized and fortified, and the town of Balasore partially burned, with forty sail of the Mogul fleet: the factories, however, at Patna and Cossimbazar were taken and plundered by the enemy, and the agents placed in irons. At this period, Muchtar Khan was appointed governor of Surat, and with him a sort of provisional convention was entered into, which was to be the basis of a treaty with the Mogul. The court in London, overjoyed at the prospect of such favourable terms, voted Sir John Child a present of 1,000 guineas,—a very large sum in proportion to the moderate salaries then apportioned to Anglo-Indian functionaries.†

The negotiation fell to the ground. According to the account given in the official records, Muchtar Khan never intended to carry it out, and only affected to entertain the proposition as a means of gaining time until the results of the contest of Aurungzebe with Beejapoor and Goleonda, and also with Sumbajee, should be fully manifest. This seems contradicted by the fact, that after these two kingdoms fell into the power of the Mogul, the English authorities of Madras solicited and received from the conqueror a confirmation of the privileges accorded to them by the deposed monarch. In fact, they followed the example of a neighbouring Hindoo governor, who quietly remarked, that "as the world turned round like a wheel, he had beaten his drums and fired his guns, for the victory of the mighty Aurungzebe over his old master."‡ Sir John Child severely reprimanded the Madras agency for their conduct, as implying a doubt of the ultimate issue of the struggle of their countrymen with the Mogul; but since he had himself evinced pretty clearly a similar feeling, by affecting to act on his private authority, without the knowledge of his employers, it is hard to censure the Madras agents for

taking measures against their otherwise certain destruction or captivity. The annals of this period are very confused: even Bruce, more than once, alludes to their defectiveness; but it appears, that in October, 1688, Sir John Child, suspecting duplicity on the part of the Mogul governor, embarked at Bombay, and appeared off Surat with a fleet of seven ships, his intention being to deter Muchtar Khan from any breach of the provisional agreement. In this same month, Captain Heath reached Bengal, in command of a large armed ship, the *Defence*, attended by a frigate, and bearing instructions from the Court of Committees for the active prosecution of hostilities. His proceedings are thus related by Bruce:—"Captain Heath, on the 29th of November (contrary to the opinion of the agent and council, and notwithstanding a perwannah [*order*] for peace with the English had been received by the governor from the Nabob), attacked and took a battery of thirty guns, and plundered the town of Balasore. The English factory, on this occasion, was burned by the governor; and the company's agents, who had been previously taken prisoners, were carried up the country, where all subsequent efforts for their release were unavailing." Under these circumstances, it would seem unjust to accuse the Moguls of breaking the armistice, since it was not till the 26th of December that Muchtar Khan seized and imprisoned Mr. Harris and Mr. Gladman, ordered the company's goods in Surat to be sold, demanded a contribution of five lacks of rupees, and offered a large reward for the person of Sir John Child—alive or dead. The island of Bombay was attacked by the Siddee, the greater part of it occupied by the enemy, and the governor besieged in the town and castle. Aurungzebe issued orders to expel the English from his dominions. The factory at Masulipatam was seized, as also that at Vizagapatam, where the agent and four factors were slain.

The unequal contest could not, it was evident, be prolonged without occasioning the destruction of those by whose ambition and imprudence it had been provoked. Solicitations for peace were presented, in December, 1688, and received with a show of indifference—rather affected than real; for the imperial treasury, drained by constant warfare, could ill bear the sub-

* According to the writers of that day in the interloping interest, the advantage in question was purchased at the expense of a flagrant breach of faith; but this allegation the company denied.

† Harris, the successor of Child as president of Surat and governor of Bombay, had only £300 a-year. The regency scheme was abandoned.

‡ Orme's *Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire*.

traction of any source of income. The application of the English for the restoration of commercial privileges, was doubtless the more welcome, for being presented under circumstances which enabled Aurngzebe to carry out the policy evidenced in his dealings with the Portuguese, of reducing the pretensions of European maritime powers trading to the Indies to a complete dependence on his authority; thus keeping down attempts at political influence while desirous of promoting mercantile intercourse. In February, 1689, a new firmaun was issued, which declared that "the English having made a most humble and submissive petition that the crimes they have done may be pardoned;" and having promised "to restore the merchants' goods they had taken away to the owners thereof, and walk by the ancient customs of the port, and behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner; therefore his majesty, according to his daily favour to all the people of the world, hath pardoned their faults, and mercifully forgiven them." Out of his princely condescension, the Great Mogul further agreed to permit a present of 150,000 rupees to be placed in the treasury of Surat. The firmaun concludes with an express stipulation "that Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled." The translation of this document is apparently faulty; but it suffices to convey an idea of its tone and tenor, and fully bears out the declaration of Bruce, that the result of all the projects of the company to become an independent power in India, was to reduce their agents to a more abject position than any in which they had been placed since the first establishment of an English factory in India.*

Sir John Child, who had provided in his own person a scape-goat for the wrath of the emperor, died at Bombay during the progress of the negotiation, and the office of president devolved on Mr. Harris, then a prisoner at Surat. On payment of the fine and restoration of goods decreed in the

firmaun, Mr. Harris and other English prisoners were immediately released from their long confinement in irons; but it was not until the 22nd of June, 1690, that the Siddee, by order of Aurngzebe, vacated his different posts at Bombay (Mazagon, Mahim, and Sion), after about a twelvemonth's occupation. On the same day, the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England was proclaimed in this island, as it had been at Madras eight months before. Ignorant of the disasters attending their ambitious projects, the court, in the instructions addressed to their servants in 1689, declare—"The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade: 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers, united only by his Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us; and upon this account it is, that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices which we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of our revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade."† Being chiefly concerned in monopolising the spice-islands, the Dutch appear to have followed their policy of territorial aggrandisement far less strenuously on the continent of India than at Ceylon, Java, and throughout the Eastern Archipelago, at Formosa (China), at the Cape of Good Hope, at New York, Guyana, and other widely-spread localities.

The disastrous issue of the recent expedition, compelled the English to adopt a more deferential manner towards the native powers, but made no change in their ultimate intentions. Shortly after the conclusion of peace, the town and harbour of Tegnapatam,‡ on the Coromandel coast, a little to the south of the French settlement of Poudicherry, was obtained by purchase from Rajah Ram,

* Bruce, ii., 639-40; 646—653. The firmaun contains no reference to the privilege of coining money, which had long been a point in dispute.

† "Dispatch from the Court of Committees in Ann. Comp., 1689-'90: written, there seems good reason for believing, by Child."—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 101.)

‡ In the instructions for the establishment of this new settlement, special encouragement is directed to be given to Armenians, as also in Vizagapatam and Madras. In the latter place, one quarter of the town was to be allotted to them, with permission "to build a church at their own cost," a duty sadly neglected by the company. These Armenians were

a Christian sect formed during the power of the successors of Constantine. When the countries they inhabited were over-run by the Mohammedan arms, they were forcibly transplanted by Shah Abbas, and other belligerent monarchs, into Persia, and dispersed among the surrounding countries, where they earned a livelihood as merchants and brokers. Some of them made their way into India, and obtained a character for successful trading, which rendered the company desirous to employ them in vending English woollens, and procuring fine muslins and other goods. The project seems to have failed, the Armenians being pre-engaged in the service of the Levant company.

the Mahratta sovereign, and the sanction of the Mogul authorities of the Carnatic obtained for its occupation. It was strengthened by a wall and bulwarks, and named Fort St. David.*

About the same time a more important acquisition was made in Bengal. During the late hostilities, the agent and council at Hooghly, fearing to continue in so exposed a position, removed to Chuttanuttee, a village about twenty-four miles lower down the river, where they hoped to remain in security under the protection of their ships. The Nabob ordered them to return to Hooghly, and forbade their building, with either stone or brick, at Chuttanuttee; but, on the pacification with the court of Delhi, permission was obtained for the establishment of a factory there. Repeated attempts were made to obtain leave to fortify the new position, and for a grant of jurisdiction over its inhabitants, as also over those of the adjoining villages of Calcutta and Govindpoor. Similar applications were made by the Dutch at Chiusura (about a mile southward of Hooghly), and by the French at Chandernagore (two miles lower down the river), but without success; for Aurungzebe never permitted any foreigner to erect a single bastion on Mogul territory, though he tolerated the continuance (at Madras for instance) of such European fortresses as his conquests over Mohammedan or Hindoo princes drew within the borders of the empire. At length, one of those intestine divisions which have so often placed India at the feet of strangers, procured for the agencies before-named the privilege long vainly solicited. Soobah Sing, a petty Hindoo chief, being dissatisfied with Rajah Kishen Rama, of Burdwan (who must have been either tributary to, or in the service of, Aurungzebe), united with Rehim Khan, an Afghan, then considered the head of that clan remaining in Orissa, in an attempt to overturn the government, in 1695-'6. The three European settlements hired a number of native soldiery to guard their property: the Dutch and French professed themselves staunch allies of the

Mogul: the English endeavoured to preserve a semblance of neutrality, but united in requesting permission to fortify their factories against the attacks of the insurrectionists. The Nabob directed them, in general terms, to defend themselves, and they, taking for granted what was not absolutely forbidden, laboured day and night in raising walls with bastions round their stations. A pitched battle between the insurgents and Kishen Rama, terminated in the defeat and death of the latter, and the capture of his family. His beautiful daughter was among the prisoners: Soobah Sing strove to dishonour her; but the attempt cost him his life; for the hapless girl, aware of his intention, had concealed a sharp knife in the folds of her dress; and when he strove to seize her, she inflicted upon him a mortal wound, and then, with mistaken heroism, stabbed herself to the heart. By this catastrophe, the rebel army fell under the sole control of the Afghan chief, who became master of Hooghly, Moorshedabad, and Rajmahal: the Dutch and English factories, at the latter place, were pillaged of considerable property. Chuttanuttee and the fort of Tanna† were unsuccessfully attacked. But the general progress of the rebels was almost unchecked; and in December, 1696, their force comprised 12,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry: the revenue of the country in their possession was estimated at sixty lacs of rupees per annum; and Rehim Shah assumed the style and dignity of a prince. The remissness of the Nabob being deemed the chief cause of the rapid spread of the insurrection, Prince Azim (second son of Prince Mauzim)‡ was sent at the head of the Mogul army for its suppression, and was at the same time appointed to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The death of Rehim Shah in battle, in 1698, and the submission of the Afghans, was followed by a general amnesty. The Europeans were suffered to continue their fortifications; and in 1698, the English, by the payment of a considerable sum of money, obtained per-

* The precise period of the introduction of the Dutch into Bengal is not recorded; but the French established themselves about 1676, and the Danes in the same year at Serampore.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 346.)

† Tanna, ten miles west of Calcutta, on the opposite side of the river, was defended by an English frigate, sent at the request of the foudjar of Hooghly to support the fort against the rebels. Calcutta, according to Stewart (properly called Calicotta), takes

its name from a temple dedicated to Caly, the Hindoo goddess of Time. The territory purchased from the zemindars in 1698, extended about three miles along the *Hooghly* (or *Bhagaruttee*), and one mile inland.

‡ It was a part of the policy of the wily Aurungzebe, to bring forward his grandsons and place them in positions of honour and emolument; so that they might be disposed, in any emergency, to side with him rather than with their own fathers.

mission to purchase Chuttanuttee and the adjoining villages, with authority to exercise justiciary power over the inhabitants. The designation of Calcutta came to be applied to the whole, and the name of Fort William was given to the defences in honour of the English monarch.

Notwithstanding these cheering indications of progress in Bengal, the general condition of the E. I. Cy. at this period was one of extreme political and financial depression; their difficulties from private trade and piracy being aggravated by the national hostility of the French, and the domestic rivalry of a new association. The death of Sir John Child made no change in the policy pursued by his brother in England: at his instigation, the Court of Committees continued to wield, to the fullest extent, the somewhat questionable authority conveyed by their charters, which, although intended to confer the privilege of exclusive trade, left loopholes sufficient to encourage unauthorised ventures on the part of speculators inclined to balance ultimate risk, against the present safety and prospect of gain afforded by the want of any power on the part of the company to seize vessels at the outset or on the voyage, however evident the intention of the equipment. The consequence was, that although the court might occasionally bring offenders before the King's Bench, and did, at one time (1685-'6), threaten to prosecute as many as forty-seven of the principal interlopers, yet the brunt of the battle fell to the share of their servants in India; and they, if the evidence of Captain Hamilton* may be trusted, shrank from the responsi-

bility of carrying out the stringent orders forwarded on this head, declaring that the laws of England were contrary to the measures proposed. Apart from the testimony of any unfavourable witness, there are indications, in the selected Annals of the E. I. Cy., of a tendency to confound private and unlicensed trade with piracy,† which probably conduced to the increase of the latter disgraceful crime, while it aggravated the hostility of the interlopers, who must have possessed considerable influence if they were, as described in an official despatch, "malcontents, quondam committee-men, and adventurers, who have sold their stocks at high rates, and want to buy in again at low."‡ The change in the government of England paved the way for discussions regarding the validity of rights proceeding from a grant of the Crown simply, or rights proceeding from a grant founded on an act of the legislature. The strong desire of the nation for extended commerce with India was manifested in the eagerness with which one large class of persons recommended an open trade; while another united for the formation of a new joint-stock association. Petitions and remonstrances were on all sides presented both to parliament and the king; and while parliament passed repeated resolutions in favour of the new company, the king as often granted charters to the old. The letters-patent of 1693 confirmed the monopoly of the latter, but only for a period of twenty-one years; terminated the "permission trade," by prohibiting the grant of licences to private ships; decreed the annual exportation of British manu-

* According to this writer, Mr. Vaux, the governor of Bombay, who had obtained that position by favour of Sir Josiah Child, in answering a communication on the subject of interlopers, took occasion, while thanking his patron for past benefits, to assert his resolution to abide by the laws of his country. Sir Josiah, in reply, "wrote roundly to Mr. Vaux, that he expected his orders to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which were a heap of nonsense compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good government of their own families, much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce. I am the more particular," adds Hamilton, "on this account, because I saw and copied both those letters in anno, 1696, while Mr. Vaux and I were prisoners at Surat, on account of Captain Evory's [Avery] robbing the Mogul's great ship, the *Gunswey*" [Guj Suwae]—*East Indies*, i., 233.) Considering the preponderance of country gentlemen in parliament at this period, the satire is not without point; and Hamilton's assertion regarding the letter is so clear and positive, that it can hardly be set aside without unwarrantable disparagement to the character of an intelligent

though prejudiced writer. Such vague statements as the following may be reasonably viewed with more suspicion:—"The power of executing pirates is so strangely sketched, that if any private trader is injured by the tricks of a governor, and can find no redress, if the injured person is so bold as to talk of *lex talionis*, he is infallibly declared a pirate."—p. 362.

† An illustration of this tendency may be found in the records of 1691-'2. "The court continued to act towards their opponents (the interlopers) in the same manner as they had done in the latter years of the two preceding reigns, and granted commissions to all their captains proceeding this season to India, to seize the interlopers of every description, and bring them to trial before the admiralty court of Bombay, explaining that as they attributed all the differences between the company and the Indian powers to the interlopers, if they continued their depredations on the subjects of the Mogul or King of Persia, they were to be tried for their lives as pirates, and sentence of death passed, but execution stayed till the king's pleasure should be known."—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, vol. iii., p. 103.)

‡ *Idem*, p. 112.

factures, to the value of £100,000; and directed the dividends to be paid, for the future, exclusively in money. In defiance of this charter, a vote of the House of Commons declared it to be "the right of all Englishmen to trade to the East Indies or any part of the world, unless prohibited by act of parliament."* This state of strife and confusion reached its climax in 1695, when it became known that a system of direct bribery had been pursued towards men in power. The Lower House, though some of its leading members were deeply implicated, came forward actively in the matter, and ordered the books of the company to be examined, from whence it appeared, that previous to the Revolution the annual expenditure in "secret services" had scarcely ever exceeded £1,200; but that since that epoch it had gradually increased, and in the year 1693, whilst Sir Thomas Cooke was governor, had amounted to upwards of £80,000. Many persons of eminence were involved in these nefarious transactions with the most unprincipled schemers: the Duke of Leeds, then lord president of the council, vehemently defended the company, and was himself impeached by the Commons, on the charge of having received a bribe of £5,000; but the principal witness against him was sent out of the way; and it was not till nine days' after it had been demanded by the Lords, that a proclamation was issued to stop the fugitive. The inquiry, at first urged on with all the violence of party-spirit, soon languished; the rank and influence of a large number of the persons directly or indirectly concerned, opposed an insurmountable barrier to its prosecution, and by the prorogation of parliament, though nominally only suspended, it was actually abandoned. Sir Thomas Cooke had been committed to the Tower for re-

fusing to disclose the names of the individuals who had received bribes: his temporary confinement was compensated by a present of £12,000, bestowed upon him by the Court of Committees "some years after the bustle was over."†

The result of these proceedings was greatly to degrade the company; nor could it be otherwise, while any sense of honesty existed in the public mind. Yet the weight of blame rests unquestionably less heavily on those who offered the bribes than on the sworn guardians of the national interests, who, by accepting them, showed themselves tainted by that unholy covetousness which, under a despotism, is the chief source of the perversion of justice; and, among a free people, must tend to destroy the very basis of all sound principle and impartial legislation.

In a pecuniary sense, these disbursements were unwarrantable, being made at a time when the funds of the association barely sufficed to meet the necessary and legitimate expenditure called for by the occupation of new settlements, and the heavy losses entailed by the hostility of the French, after the declaration of war against that people by England and Holland, in 1689. For the next eight years sharp conflicts occurred between the fleets of the rival nations, which were happily terminated by the treaty of Ryswick, 1697. In a commercial point of view, the French inflicted more injury upon themselves by their lavish and ill-directed expenditure, than upon their old-established opponents;‡ but the improvement in the condition of their marine, through the exertions of the ministers of Louis XIV., rendered their enmity peculiarly disastrous to the mercantile shipping of their foes. During the war, no less than 4,200 British merchant-vessels were captured, including many East-Indiamen, which were intercepted

* Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., p. 142.

† Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., 608. Tysen, the deputy-governor, and other persons shared the imprisonment of the governor, and probably also received proportionate gratuities. Among them was the notorious Sir Basil Firebrass, or Firebrace, who had been recently bought off from the interloping interest, and who played a leading part in 1701 in the arrangements for the union of the two E. I. Companies, and demanded in return a per centage equal in value to £30,000, on a portion of the joint stock.

‡ The French East India trade appears to have been from the first a losing concern. Notwithstanding the pecuniary and political support of the government, Colbert's company (according to the Abbé Raynal), had often to subscribe for the payment of losses, while their European rivals were dividing thirty per cent. on mercantile ventures; and in 1684, their ac-

counts being examined by commissioners appointed by the king, it appeared that their sales, in twenty years, amounted to no more than 9,100,000 livres, and that three-quarters of their capital-stock were totally lost. Assistance from the state again propped up the association, and a slight gleam of prosperity followed; for in the years 1687 and 1691, two dividends, each of fifteen per cent., were for the first time paid from profits. The war with England and Holland was not beneficial in its general results; for although the French Cy. made extensive captures, their very success helped to encourage the swarms of privateers, which covered the seas and carried into the ports of France a great number of English and Dutch prizes with rich cargoes, to be sold at any price they would fetch. This proceeding caused a glut in the market, and obliged the company to sell their goods at unremunerative prices, or not at all.

both on the Indian seas and on the middle passage; particularly off the coast of Galway, in 1695, when all the four homeward-bound vessels of the company were captured by a French fleet.*

In India, the wrath of the emperor had been excited by the frequent piracies committed on the shipping of Mogul merchants,† and especially by the plunder of his own vessel the *Guj-Suavee*, while engaged in conveying pilgrims to Mecca, in 1695. Aurungzebe himself could not detest these sacrilegious sea-robbers more heartily than did the whole body of European traders; but they being at war with one another, could make no united effort for the suppression of the common foe. The tide of popular feeling among the Mohammedans rose against the English agencies at Surat and Swally with so much violence, that the governor placed the factors and others, to the number of sixty-three persons, in irons—not from any voluntary harshness on his part, but as a necessary measure to preserve their lives amid the tumult. Large rewards were held out, both by the government of England and by the E. I. Cy., for the apprehension of the leading offenders. A sum of £1,000 was offered for the person of Captain Avery; but he escaped, having proceeded to the Bahamas,

where his ship was sold and the crew dispersed; several of them were, however, seized and executed. From this difficulty the English found means of extricating themselves, and prevailed upon Aurungzebe to confide to them the task of convoying pilgrim vessels to Mecca, at a charge of 40,000 rupees for a large, and 30,000 for a small vessel. The good understanding thus restored was soon destroyed by the daring piracies committed by a Captain Kidd and others off Surat. The emperor could no longer be appeased with assurances that such and such culprits had been executed in different British colonies, or hung in chains at Tilbury;‡ and he declared, that since all other means had failed to check these disgraceful proceedings, he would put an end to European commerce with his subjects, unless the English, French, and Dutch would consent to sign a bond, engaging to make good any future depredations committed by pirates on the Indian Seas—an arrangement to which the European agents were most reluctantly compelled to assent.§

The list of difficulties which environed the E. I. Cy., at this period, is still incomplete. While weighed down by pecuniary involvements, and unable, for years together, to pay a dividend, the project for a new Scottish company was again brought for-

* Although the merchantmen of the E. I. Cy., at this period, proved unable to cope with French ships-of-the-line, and were even captured by the desperate hardihood of privateering adventure, they were, nevertheless, by no means ill-provided with the appliances of war. To encourage the building of ships of above 550 tons burden, and capable of defence against the pirates of Algiers, then termed the "Turkish Rovers," it was enacted by parliament, soon after the restoration of Charles II., that for a certain number of years, whoever should build ships with three decks, or with two decks and a-half, and a fore-castle, with a space of five feet between each deck, and mounted with at least thirty cannon, should for the first two voyages receive one-tenth part of all the customs that were payable on their export and import lading.—(Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, vol. i. A *Vindication of the E. I. Cy.*, generally attributed to Sir Josiah Child, published in 1677, states that they employed from thirty to thirty-five ships of from 300 to 600 tons burden, carrying from 40 to 70 guns, which must of course have been very light.—(Macpherson's *Commerce with India*, 133.) In an official statement of their affairs, published in 1689, the company assert, that in seven years they had built sixteen ships of from 900 to 1,300 tons, and had in India or on the homeward voyage eleven of their own, and four "permission ships" (i.e., licensed by them) with cargoes worth above £360,000, besides a fleet comprising fourteen of their own and six permission ships bound for India, China, and other southern isles, with cargoes valued at £660,000.

† Mocha and Judda are the seaports of Mecca.

‡ Captain Kidd and several of his associates, being eventually captured, were executed at Tilbury Fort.

§ One of the negotiations between Aurungzebe and the English factors, regarding piratical seizures, is recorded by Khafi Khan, an author frequently quoted in the previous section on the Mohammedan portion of Indian history. He makes no mention of the war which had previously taken place; but says, that in the year 1693, a ship bound to Mecca, carrying eighty guns and furnished with 400 muskets, was attacked by an English vessel of small size. A gun having burst in the Mogul ship, the enemy boarded, and "although the Christians have no courage at the sword, yet by bad management the vessel was taken." Khafi Khan was sent by the viceroy of Guzerat to demand redress at Bombay. He describes his reception as being conducted with great dignity and good order, and with a considerable display of military power. He negotiated with elderly gentlemen in rich clothes; and although they sometimes laughed more heartily than became so grave an occasion, yet he seems to have been favourably impressed with their sense and intelligence. The English alleged that the king's ships had been captured by pirates, for whom they were not answerable, and explained their coining money in the name of their own sovereign (which was another complaint against them), by stating that they had to purchase investments at places where the money of the emperor would not pass. No definite result appears to have attended this interview.—(Elphinstone, ii., 556.)

ward, and a very advantageous charter granted to these adventurers, in 1698, with authority to trade to the East as well as West Indies, Africa, and America. This enterprise—which issued in the formation of the ill-fated Darien settlement—was soon succeeded by another more directly hostile to the E. I. Cy., and which was, in fact, a complete triumph on the part of the interloping interest. On the termination of the French war, the government of England looked around eagerly for means to liquidate the heavy expenses thereby incurred. The E. I. Cy. offered a loan of £700,000, at four per cent. interest, provided their charter should be confirmed, and the monopoly of the Indian trade secured to them by act of parliament. Their opponents tried a similar expedient, with more success, by proposing to raise a sum of £2,000,000 sterling, at eight per cent., on condition of being invested with exclusive privileges, and unfettered by any obligation to trade on a joint-stock. After much discussion, a bill was passed by the legislature, by which it was enacted that a loan of £2,000,000 should be raised, by subscription, for the service of government. Natives and foreigners, bodies politic and corporate, were alike at liberty to contribute their quota towards the total sum, which was to bear an interest of eight per cent. per annum. In return for this accommodation, letters-patent were issued, incorporating an association, called the *General Society trading to the East Indies*.^{*} The members were authorised to adventure severally, to the amount of their subscriptions: or, if they so desired, might be formed into a joint-stock company. This new monopoly was to last until 1711; after that time, it was to terminate whenever the government chose, upon three years' notice, the original capital of two million being first refunded to the subscribers. The old company were treated in it very summarily; the proviso of three years' notice[†] was, in their case, just so far regarded as to ensure them leave to trade to India

* Mill, i., 141. Bruce says, the old association were obliged to assume the name of the *London company*, in contradistinction to the new corporation, which bore the more popular because national name of the *English company* (iii. 250); but these terms, used only for a few years, would but confuse the reader if interwoven in the text.

† Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, iii., 685.

‡ Bruce, iii. 257. The old company declared their rivals "invaders of their rights, and authorised interlopers only." The new association were yet more violent in their invectives; and the charge of

till 1701. With regard to both associations, it was decreed that the private fortunes of the adventurers should be responsible for the liquidation of liabilities incurred in their public capacity; and if further dividends were made by the old company before the payment of their debts, the members who accepted them were to be held responsible for the sums thus unduly received.

This measure, like all others based on injustice, produced much evil and little good to any party. The conduct of the government, in expecting a trading body to traffic largely and profitably, after the abstraction of its entire capital, under the name of a loan, was in itself as glaring an absurdity as to have opened the veins of a man in full health, and then, after leaving him just blood enough to prolong a feeble existence, to expect from his emaciated frame vigorous and healthy action. As for the old company, they determined to persevere under all circumstances. The trade was too long-established, and too valuable, to be relinquished easily; and they wrote out to their servants in India, that they had resolved to bear up against ill-fortune with "a true Roman courage."[†] Taking advantage of the clause which permitted corporations to hold stock in the new company, they resolved to trade separately and in their own name, after the three years of their own charter should have expired, and devoted the sum of £315,000 to this purpose; at the same time avowing their belief "that a civil battle was to be fought" between them and their adversaries; for that "two E. I. Companies in England could no more subsist without destroying each other, than two kings at the same time regnant in the same kingdom;" adding, that "being veterans, if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not doubt of the victory: that if the world laughed at the pains the two companies took to ruin each other, they could not help it, as they were on good ground, and had a charter."[‡]

The world—at least the Indian portion of it piracy," says Mill, "became a general calumny with which all the different parties in India endeavoured to blacken their competitors" (i. 136.) Sir Nicholas Waite openly denounced the London company to the Mogul as "thieves and confederates with pirates" (Bruce, iii. 337); and even applied to the governor of Surat to have their servants put in irons for an insult which, he asserted, had been offered to the ambassador of the King of England. Unfortunately, a great deal of personal ill-feeling existed between the representatives of the two societies, which led to the impolitic harshness of their measures.

did not laugh, but was simply amazed by the hostilities of two powerful trading bodies, each professing to act under the direct patronage of their mutual sovereign. Aurungzebe listened incredulously to the representations of Sir William Norris, who was dispatched to the Mogul court at the cost of the new company, but in the character of royal ambassador. Norris is accused of having conducted himself with unjustifiable violence towards the rival officials; and the same complaint is urged still more strongly against Sir Nicholas Waite, who had formerly acted as agent to the old company, but had been dismissed their employ. The new corporation in this, as in several other cases, were glad to avail themselves of the local knowledge possessed by the discarded servants of their opponents; and Waite was appointed their representative at Surat, with the title of president; to which that of consul was superadded by the king, as also to the chief of the three projected presidencies at Hooghly in Bengal, Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, and in the island of Borneo. Each party maligned the other to the Mogul government, and lavished large sums of money for the purpose of gaining exclusive privileges. Prince Azim, the governor of Bengal, received presents from both sides—16,000 rupees from the old company, and 14,000 from the new;* but without understanding their ground of difference. The emperor, equally puzzled by these proceedings, wrote privately to Seyed Sedula, "an holy priest at Surat,"† desiring him to search out which of the two parties was really authorised by the English nation. The reply of the Seyed is not

recorded; probably it was indefinite and unimportant: but had the same question been addressed to a European versed in the politics of the day, the answer might have involved a revelation of quite a new order of things to the mind of the despotic but philosophical monarch.‡ What a text full of strange doctrines would have been contained in the fact plainly stated, that both companies represented the will of different sections of a free though monarchical nation;—that, indeed, "the whole of this contest was only one division of the great battle that agitated the state between the tories and the whigs, of whom the former favoured the old company, and the latter the new."§

The fierce contention and excessive competition of the rival associations, proved almost equally injurious to both. The new company, upon the first depression of their stock in the market, had manifested an inclination to unite with the old body; but the latter held off, hoping to drive the enemy out of the field; and they succeeded in obtaining an act of parliament continuing them as a distinct corporation. The struggle, however, cost them dearly; and their stock, in these times of fluctuation and anxiety, varied in value between 300 and 37 per cent.|| The market was overladen, there being at one time as many as sixty ships abroad in India and returning. Great quantities of Indian-wrought silks, stuffs, and calicoes were imported, and from their low price, worn by all classes. The silk-weavers of London became extremely tumultuous; and in 1697, attempted to seize the treasure at the East India-house.¶ Order was restored

* Stewart's *History of Bengal*, 342.

† Bruce's *Annals of the E. I. Cy.*, iii., 466.

‡ Bernier, while serving Danechmund Khan in the capacity of physician, heard from the lips of this nobleman the particulars of a singular interview which he had just returned from witnessing between Aurungzebe and his former tutor. The latter had enjoyed for many years a jaghire, bestowed upon him by Shah Jehan. Upon the triumph of the schemes of his ambitious pupil, the old man presented himself as a candidate for office. Aurungzebe, wearied by his importunity, dismissed him, declaring that he owed him no gratitude for his ill-directed labours and erroneous instruction. "You taught me," he exclaimed, "that the whole of Frangistan (Europe) was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful monarch was formerly the King of Portugal, then the King of Holland, and afterwards the King of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Frangistan (such as the King of France, and the King of Andalusia), you told me they resembled our petty rajahs; and that the potentates of Hindoostan eclipsed the glory of all

other kings." A profound and comprehensive knowledge of the history of mankind; familiarity with the origin of states, their progress and decline; the events, accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected;—these were subjects which Aurungzebe pronounced to be of more importance to a prince than the possession "of great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a doctor of the law," or even proficiency in the difficult Arabic language, which no one could hope to attain without "ten or twelve years of close application." This mighty prince is certainly not the first who has lamented the waste of the precious hours of youth "in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words:" yet, considering the importance attached by Mussulmans to the power of reading the Koran in the original tongue, it seems strange that so zealous a believer should have expressed himself thus forcibly on that point.—(Brock's *Bernier*, ii., 165-6-7.)

§ Grant's *Sketch of History of E. I. Cy.*, 119.

|| Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, ii., p. 43.

¶ *Idem*, 633.

for the time; but the discontents were renewed by the augmented imports of the years 1688-9; and the loud complaints from Spitalfields, Norwich, Canterbury, Coventry, &c., of the detrimental effect on the nation, occasioned by the numerous manufacturers thrown out of employ, and likewise of the largely increased exportation of silver,* succeeded in procuring the enactment of a law prohibiting the use in England or sale, except for re-exportation, of silks wrought, or calicoes printed in Persia, China, or the East Indies, either for apparel or furniture, under a penalty of £200, after Michaelmas, 1701; and a duty of fifteen per cent. was soon afterwards imposed upon muslins. These regulations materially reduced the value of the Eastern trade; and probably helped to accelerate the union of the two associations,—a measure strenuously urged by King William, but not carried out till after the accession of Anne. An indenture tripartite was entered into by the queen and the rival companies in 1702, by which it was agreed that a full and complete union should take place at the termination of the ensuing seven years, the intermediate time to be occupied in winding up the separate concerns of each party. The coalition took place before the lapse of the stated interval, being hastened by the alarm occasioned by the demand of government for the subscription of a new loan of £1,200,000, without interest. The companies, knowing from the experience of the past, the danger of the present crisis, dreaded the formation of a fresh body of adventurers, or renewed discussions on the subject of open trade with India. They forth-

with laid aside all separate views, and agreed to furnish jointly the amount required. Their differences were submitted to the arbitration of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, then lord high treasurer of England; and an act was passed, in 1708, constituting them one corporate body, under the name of the *United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*, with continuance only until the year 1726, and then "to cease and determine, on three years' notice and repayment by government of their capital stock of £3,200,000."†

While this matter was in progress of arrangement, the long-expected death of the aged emperor took place, and was immediately followed by the fierce war of succession, with equal anxiety anticipated by the native and European inhabitants of Hindoostan. When the news reached Surat, the English president (Sir John Gayer), anxious to transmit the intelligence to the company, yet fearful of plainly stating circumstances which, in a political crisis, might either by their truth or falsehood expose the promulgator to danger, took a middle course, by stating in an allegory easy to be understood, "that the sun of this hemisphere had set, and that the star of the second magnitude being under his meridian, had taken his place; but that it was feared the star of the first magnitude, though under a remoter meridian, would struggle to exalt itself."‡

The victory of Prince Mauzim (the star of the first magnitude) over his brothers, Azim and Kaumbuksh, and his elevation to the throne, have been already related (*see* p. 15 f); as also the rapid decay of the once

* From 1698 to 1703 inclusive, the silver exported from England to the East Indies amounted to £3,171,405; the gold to £128,229; total, £3,299,634, or, on an average, £549,939 per ann. The East India goods re-exported from England from 1698 to 1702 inclusive, were estimated at the value of £2,538,934, or, on an average, £507,787 per ann.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, i. Introduction, p. xii.)

† To equalise the shares of the two companies, it was agreed that the old, or London company, should purchase at par as much of the capital of the new or English company lent to government, as, added to the £315,000 which they had already subscribed, should equalise their respective portions. The dead stock of the London company was estimated at £330,000; that of the English company at £70,000; therefore, the latter paid the former £130,000 to place the shares of this part of the common estate on the same basis. The assets or effects of the London company, in India, fell short of their debts; and Lord Godolphin decreed that they should pay by instalments to the United company the sum of

£96,615: the English company, having their balance on the right side of the account, were to receive from the same fund the sum of £66,005. The debts of both companies in Britain were ordained to be discharged before March, 1709; and as those of the London body amounted to nearly £400,000, the directors were empowered to call upon their proprietors, by three several instalments, for the means of liquidation. The £1,200,000 now advanced to government, without interest, being added to the previous sum of £2,000,000, constituted a loan of £3,200,000, yielding interest at the rate of five per cent. on the whole.—(Bruce, iii., 635—639; 667—679.) To assist them in raising the required loan, the company were empowered to borrow, on bonds, to the extent of £1,500,000 on their common seal, over and above what they were legally authorised to do before, and also to make calls of money from their proprietors.—(*Charters of E. I. Cy.*, pp. 243—367; Anderson, iii., 29.)—The company continued to bear the title now assumed until the year 1833.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 616.

mighty fabric of Mogul power, which had made perceptible progress even before the death of Aurungzebe.

Before proceeding to describe the growth of English ascendancy, it may be needful, for the sake of readers not conversant with the sources from which the narrative of European intercourse with India has been derived, to notice the grievous dearth of native history, which has largely contributed to render many ponderous tomes published on Anglo-Indian affairs, almost as unreadable as a Blue-Book, or the ledger of a commercial firm. The valuable work of Bruce is professedly compiled from the records of the E. I. Cy.; but as he has very judiciously thought fit to give an able, though brief sketch of the general state of European politics in successive reigns, it would have been no less pertinent to the subject to have selected from the voluminous despatches of the Indian presidencies, various interesting illustrations of the condition and character both of the Hindoo and Mohammedan population. Such knowledge is useful even in a purely commercial point of view; and there is the greater cause for surprise that it should have been neglected by this writer, because in almost the only instance in which he deviates from his general rule by relating an affray with the Hindoos, occasioned by an act of wanton aggression on the part of the crews of two of the company's vessels, he introduces it as "one of those untoward

events which strongly mark the necessity of attention to the rights, as well as to the prejudices of the natives."* Nearly at the close of his third and last quarto volume, he quotes the humiliating observation of President Pitt (the grandfather of Lord Chatham), that "when the Europeans first settled in India, they were mightily admired by the natives, believing they were as innocent as themselves; but since, by their example, they are grown very crafty and cautious; and no people better understand their own interest: so that it was easier to effect that in one year which you sha'n't do now in a century; and the more obliging your management, the more jealous they are of you."†

This evidence of the effect of communication between nominally Christian nations and a people still unenlightened by the teaching of the Gospel, is unhappily confirmed by the common testimony borne by impartial witnesses regarding the state of various native populations after their intercourse with Europeans. The bigotry of Romish communities, and the indifference (masked under the name of toleration) of Protestants, had rendered the profession of Christianity in the month of the former a pretext for cruel persecution, and in that of the latter little better than an unmeaning sound; the shameless immorality of Europeans in general, giving cause for the Indians to doubt whether they had really any religion at all.‡

* These vessels had gone from Surat to Carwar to bring off the pepper, &c. The crew of one of them stole a cow and killed it, thus offending both the rights and prejudices of the Hindoos; being resisted, they fired at and killed two native children of rank. The factory was in danger of destruction, and the agents of imprisonment; but proceedings were suspended by reason of the impending battle between the Mahratta rajah Sumbajee, and Aurungzebe. Bruce adds, that the Malabar trade received a severe check; which would be the natural result of such an aggression, as the produce was chiefly procured through native merchants.—(ii., 545.)

† *Annals*, iii., 658-9. Hamilton asserts, that a terrible catastrophe occurred at Batecala about the year 1670, in consequence of a bull-dog belonging to the English factory having killed a cow consecrated to a pagoda or temple. The enraged priests, believing the injury to have been intentional, raised a mob and killed the whole of the English (eighteen in number) while engaged in a hunting party.—(i. 280.) The same writer describes the neighbouring kingdom of Canara as being generally governed by a female sovereign; and he adds, "the subjects of this country observe the laws so well, that robbery or murder are hardly heard of among them; and a stranger may pass through the country without being asked where he is going, or what business he has."—(*New Account of East Indies*, i. 279.)

‡ The Dutch, from the first commencement of their intercourse with the East Indies, made strenuous efforts for the conversion of the natives of Java, Formosa, Ceylon, and the Spice Islands generally, by the establishment of missions and schools, and the translation of the Scriptures; but on the continent of India their stations were small and temporary, and their spiritual labours partook of the same character. The good and zealous minister, Baldaeus, visited the Dutch possessions of Tuticorin and Negapatam on the Coromandel coast, in 1660, and extended his visitation along the southern coast of the continent as far as Coulan (Quilon.) He describes the state of the Parawar, or east of fishermen converted by Francis Xavier and other Romish missionaries, as little else than a peculiar phase of idolatry, their religion consisting in the mere outward acts of worshipping images, counting beads, and crossing themselves. The Danes, afterwards so justly celebrated for their earnest and well-directed labours in the missionary field, made no efforts of this description until they had been eighty years in India—that is, until 1706-7. Before that time the impression they had endeavoured to make upon the natives by the scrupulous integrity of their commercial dealings, was greatly impaired by their irreligion and immorality.—(Hough, iii., 181.) With regard to the English, the description given by Ferishta, at the commencement of the 17th century, was pro-

The E. I. Cy. followed the example too generally shown by the government of England throughout the seventeenth century, excepting, perhaps, during the Protectorate. They contented themselves with sending out a few chaplains, not always well selected; and made no provision for the establishment of places of worship, consecrated to the decent celebration of the observances of their common faith. The first English church in India was erected in 1680, in Fort St. George, Madras, for the use of the factory, by the governor, Streyntsham Masters. This good and earnest man completed the building "without any aid or countenance of the company in order thereto."* In fact, the missionary spirit intimately connected with the earliest colonial and commercial enterprises of the nation had been swallowed up (at least for a time) in the thirst for gain; and this circumstance is in itself a sufficient reason for the disastrous condition to which the E. I. Cy. found themselves reduced. No body of men, either in a private or public capacity, ever yet (in popular phraseology) "made their ledger their Bible" with impunity; and the punishment of an erring community is usually more perceptible than that of an individual, for the evident reason that the one has only a present existence, while for the other there is a judgment to come. We are all inclined to pass too lightly over such facts as these: we do not care to trace the workings of a superintending Providence, checking by adversity, or encouraging by prosperity, the every-day concerns of a mercantile company; nevertheless, the pith of the matter—the true philosophy of history—is in all cases the same. The flagrant blunders made by men noted for shrewdness and intrigue—the total failure of their most cunningly-devised schemes, bear daily witness amongst us of the fallibility of human judgment:—would that they taught

bably regarded by his countrymen as a correct account of the protestant creed at its close; so little effort had been made to set forth, in its truth and purity, the doctrines of the reformed faith. The Portuguese Jesuits, who were long in attendance on the court of Akher, were very likely to have accused their rivals of participation in the Nestorian heresy (which they had made the pretext for persecuting the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast): otherwise it would be difficult to account for some of the assertions of Ferishta. "The persuasion of this nation," he writes, "is different from that of other Europeans, particularly the Portuguese, with whom they are in a state of constant warfare. They assert that Jesus was a mortal, and the prophet of

us also the wisdom of implicit reliance on revealed truth, and of constant obedience to its pure and consistent dictates!

The century did not, however, close without some promise of better things, at least on the part of the English government; for the letters-patent of 1698 contain a special proviso, binding the general company to provide a chaplain on board every ship, and for every garrison and superior factory, in each of which a decent and convenient place was to be set apart for divine service only. These ministers were to learn Portuguese, and likewise the native language of the country where they should reside, "the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be servants or slaves of the said company, or of their agents in the Protestant religion."† These provisions were, it is evident, intended for the exclusive benefit of British subjects. The duty of spreading the Gospel among Indian populations was one which England was slow to recognise. Portugal, Spain, and France, Holland and Denmark, all took precedence of her in this great field; and it was not until after a long and arduous struggle, that the advocates of missionary exertion in our land succeeded in obtaining the sanction of government for their attempts to place before the people of India those divinely-revealed truths, which must be either entirely disbelieved, or else accepted as the only solid basis whereon to establish that "public virtue" which is as necessary to the true greatness of a nation, as integrity to the character of an individual. The progress of Christianity in India belongs, however, to a distinct section of this work; and its history, so far as England is concerned, is far subsequent to the present period, of which the chief interest lies in the succession of events immediately preceding the struggle between the French and English for political ascendancy in Hindoostan.

God; that there is only one God, and that he is without equal, and has no wife nor child,—according to the belief of the Portuguese. The English have a separate king, independent of the King of Portugal, to whom they owe no allegiance; but, on the contrary, these two people put each other to death wheresoever they meet. At present, in consequence of the interference of Jehangeer Padshah, they are at peace with one another, though God only knows how long they will consent to have factories in the same town, and to live on terms of amity and friendship with one another."—(Brigg's *Ferishta*, iv., 541.)

* Hough's *Christianity in India*, iii., 377.

† *Charters, Treaties, and Grants of E. I. Cy.* (English and Indian), from 1601 to 1772.

INDO-EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—The death of Anurungzebe and the junction of the two companies, mark the commencement of a new epoch; before entering upon which it may be useful to sketch the position of the various European nations whose settlements and factories dotted the coast-line of the continent of India. On the western side of the great peninsula, the Portuguese still retained possession of the city of Goa; the fortresses of Damaun, Bassein, and Choul; and of Diu in Guzerat;* but the prestige of their power was gone for ever: by land, the Dutch, the Mogul, the Mahrattas, and their old foe the zamorin of Calicut, plundered them without mercy; and from the seaward they were harassed by the restless and vengeful hostility of the Muscat Arabs,† until the once haughty invaders were so completely humbled, that the English president and council at Surat, during their worst season of depression, could find no stronger terms in which to describe their own degradation, than by declaring that they had become “as despicable as the Portuguese in India, or the Jews in Spain.”‡

The possessions of THE DUTCH were, for the most part, conquests from the Portuguese. On the *Coromandel coast* their chief settlement was that of Negapatam: in *Bengal*,

* Gemelli, quoted by Anderson, ii., 644.—He adds, that they had “the islands of Timor, Solor, and Macao subject to China; and in Africa, Angola, Sena, Sofala, Mozambique, and Mombas—many in number, but of no great value.”

† The Arabs expelled the Portuguese from Muscat about the middle of the 17th century, and maintained almost incessant warfare against them for the next fifty years, but did not molest other European traders till nearly the expiration of that period. In 1697, the Portuguese joined the King of Persia against the Arabs, whereupon these latter divided their fleet into two squadrons; sent one of them to burn the Portuguese settlement at Mombas, and employed the other in destroying the factory at Mangalore. The Persian monarch offered the English the same privileges conceded to them at Gombroon for co-operation in the capture of Ormuz, if they would now assist him in attacking Muscat. The company's troops and shipping were not in a condition to comply with this request, as they were otherwise inclined to do, and an evasive answer was returned. The suspicions of the Arabs were probably aroused by the negotiation; for they shortly afterwards commenced hostilities against the English, which their improvement in naval tactics rendered increasingly disastrous; until, in the year 1704-'5, we find the court of the London company expressing their determination, so soon as the war in Europe should terminate, “to equip armed vessels to clear the seas and to root out that nest of pirates, the Muscat Arabs.”—*Annals*, iii., 557.

‡ Bruce's *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 307.

they had posts or factories at Chinsura, Hooghly, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Patna, and other places: in *Guzerat*, a station at Surat of considerable importance in a commercial point of view; and dependent posts at Ahmedabad, § Agra, || and Baroach. Cochin, Cranganore, Coulan (Quilon), and Cananore, on the *Malabar coast*, were clogged with heavy military expenses, which greatly outweighed the profits of the trade connected with them. As many as a thousand soldiers were, for some years, maintained here, ¶ chiefly with the object of overawing the Hindoo princes, who, though frequently conquered, had never been completely subjugated either by the Portuguese or the Dutch; but on the contrary, were always ready to take advantage of any symptom of weakness on the part of their oppressors, to put forth an unexpected amount of armed hostility. The Malabar pepper is considered the finest in India; and the Dutch, although obliged to pay double the price for which they could obtain abundant supplies in Bantam and Jambee, made strong efforts to monopolise the market, but without effect. They stigmatised the sale of pepper to other nations as a contraband trade, and endeavoured to blockade the ports of Malabar; but with so little effect, that they could not even prevent the natives from maintaining an open

§ Founded in 1620, and abandoned in 1716.

|| Founded in 1618, and abandoned in 1744.

¶ A great trade was at this period carried on at Surat by Moorish, Armenian, and Arabian merchants, with Persia, Mocha, Acheen, and elsewhere. The English, Dutch, and French had establishments here, under the protection of the Mohammedan government. Excellent ships, costly but extremely durable, were built of teak; and one of the resident merchants (a wealthy and enterprising Moor) is said to have possessed as many as fifteen or sixteen sail, of from 100 to 500 tons burthen.—(*Account of Trade of India*; by Charles Lockyer: London, 1711.) The Dutch factory here proved the most advantageous of any formed by them in India, and continued extremely lucrative until Bombay usurped the place of Surat, and the dominancy of the English became established. Admiral Stavorinus writes from official documents, that the Dutch company, in the ten years ending 1698, gained, upon an average, a sum of about £46,315 sterling, or about 850 per cent. upon the finer spices; and on their other goods a profit of £23,266, although only in the proportion of about 59 per cent. on the prime cost. Valentyn, an excellent authority, states the gain of the Dutch at Surat, on various articles, as follows:—Upon cloves, 665; nutmegs, 1,453; mace, 718; copper in bars, 128; ditto in plates, 31; benzoin, 40; gumlac, 34; quicksilver, 27; and vermilion, 19: and he adds, that the clear profit of the head factory amounted yearly to between six and seven tons of gold, or from £55,000 to £64,000 sterling. (Quoted in Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., 112—114.)

traffic with the notorious pirate Kidd. The Dutch governor, writing in 1698, remarks "that it is to be regretted the company carried so much sail here in the beginning, that they are now desirous of striking them, in order to avoid being overset."* The Dutch committed the common error of putting forth pretensions unjust in themselves, and maintainable only by force. The attempt failed, and the means employed produced disastrous consequences. The reduction of the land establishments, and the breaking up of the fleet heretofore stationed on the coast, accompanied by the avowed determination of no longer obstructing the navigation, were tokens of weakness which the native princes were not likely to view in the light of voluntary concessions. In 1701, war broke out with the zamorin, or Tamuri rajah, the existing representative of a dynasty which had for two centuries formed a bulwark to India against the inroads of European powers in this direction; and hostilities were carried on at the epoch at which we are now arrived.†

The efforts of THE DANES, based on a very slender commercial capital, had not prospered. In 1689, Tranquebar, their only settlement of importance, was nearly wrested from them by their territorial sovereign, the rajah of Tanjore, in consequence of the intrigues of the Dutch; and was preserved to its rightful owners solely by the armed interference of an English detachment sent to their relief from Madras, after the siege had lasted six months.

THE FRENCH, as traders, were equally unfortunate with the Danes. The home manufacturers had become discontented on perceiving the increasing use of gold and silver brocades, and painted cottons. Like their fellow-traders in England, they succeeded in procuring an edict (in 1687) for

the immediate prohibition of this branch of commerce; and it was with considerable difficulty that the company obtained permission to dispose of their imports on hand, or expected by the next ships. The sale of piece-goods even to foreigners was forbidden, on the supposition that those of France would be purchased instead; and a high duty was laid on raw silk, then imported in considerable quantities. Under these discouraging circumstances the trade languished; and in 1693, received a fresh blow from the capture of Pondicherry (the chief French settlement) by the Dutch. New walls were raised, and the fortifications strengthened by the victors; but their labours proved ill-directed; for, upon the conclusion of the peace in 1697, the place was decreed to be restored to its former owners, with all its additional defences, on payment of £5,000 to the Dutch government, for the expenditure thus incurred. The French company received orders from the king to take measures to prevent the recapture of Pondicherry, and frequent reinforcements were sent there. The national treasury must have furnished the funds; for the finances of the association were exhausted, and in 1708 they became absolutely bankrupt; but Louis XIV., fearing that the trade to India might otherwise entirely cease, staid* all prosecutions at law against them for debt, and granted them permission to lease out their privileges, upon the best terms they could, to any private person who should be able to adventure the necessary capital. Arrangements were actually formed on this basis with a M. Croizat, and afterwards with some merchants of St. Malo.‡

The possessions of THE ENGLISH are clearly set forth in the enumeration of "dead stock," made by the two companies at the time of their union.§ The central points

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., 238.

† The Dutch had governments or factories in Ceylon, in Java (where stood the fine city of Batavia, called by its owners the *Queen of the East*), in Malacca, Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Bantam, Siam, Macassar, Tonquin, Japan, Gombroon (in the Persian Gulf), with chiefships at Ispahan and Bussora. At Arracan, they purchased rice and slaves; and they had also many temporary stations in different parts of Asia, which it would be needless to enumerate.

‡ Milburn's *Commerce*, i., 384.

§ The PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY held command over the factories of Surat, Swally, and Baroach, of Ahmedabad, Agra, and Lucknow (from which three last places the factors had been temporarily withdrawn): on the *Malabar coast*, they had the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry (established by permission of the Hindoo rajah, about 1695), Anjengo (with the

sanction of the ranee or queen of Attinga, accorded at the same time, probably in both cases with a view of procuring the aid of the English against the aggressions of the Dutch), and the factory of Calicut. On the *Coromandel coast*, the company had establishments at Jinjee and Orissa; the factories depending on the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, the city, and Fort St. George, Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipolee, Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Vizagapatam. The factories dependent on the PRESIDENCY OF CALCUTTA, or FORT WILLIAM, were—Balasore, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Hooghly, Malda, Rajmahal, and Patna. The above forts and factories, with their stores and ammunition, together with the rents and customs arising therefrom, and the firmans by right of which they were enjoyed, constituted the "dead stock" of the old or London company on the Indian continent. Some

were then, as now, formed by the three presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, the last of which was created in 1707. They had at this time no dependence upon one another; each was absolute within its own limits, and responsible only to the company in England. The presidents were respectively commanders-in-chief of the military force maintained within the limits of their jurisdiction. The numbers comprised in the several garrisons is not stated: but they were composed partly of recruits sent out from England; partly of deserters from other European settlements in India; and also (at least at Bombay and Surat) of Topasses—a name applied to the offspring of Portuguese and Indian parents, and also given, though with little reason, to Hindoo converts to the Romish church. Natives of purely Indian descent—Rajpoots for instance—were already, as has been noticed, employed by the company in military service, under the name of *Sepoys*, a corruption of *Sipahi* (soldier.) As yet little desire had been shown to discipline them after the European custom. They used the musket, but in other respects remained armed and clothed according to the country usage, with sword and target, turban, *cabay* or vest, and long drawers. Officers of their own people held command over them, but were eventually superseded by Englishmen.

Fort St. George (Madras), is described by a contemporary writer as “a port of the greatest consequence to the E. I. Cy., for its strength, wealth, and great returns made yearly in calicoes and muslins.”* The citadel or inner fort had four large bastions with curtains, on which were mounted fifty-six guns and a mortar; the western, or main guard, was kept by about thirty soldiers; the east by a corporal’s guard of six. The English town, or outer fort, was furnished with “batteries, half-moons, and flankers, at proper distances, whereon are about 150

of these posts had probably proved sources of expenditure rather than gain; Masulipatam, Pettipolee, and Madapollam, for instance, are stated by Bruce, in 1695-6, to have involved a dead loss of above £100,000.—(*Annals of E. I. Cy.*, iii., 184.) The London company’s further possessions were—the island of St. Helena: in Persia, a factory at Gombroon, with the yearly rent of about £3,333. still paid by the Persian monarch (see p. 208); and trading posts at Shiraz and Ispahan. On the island of Sumatra they had the settlements at York Fort, Bencoolen, Indrapore, Priaman, Sillebar, Bencoolen with dependent stations; and also a factory at Tonquin. The dead stock of the new, or English company, for which they were to be allowed £70,000 in

guns and three mortars, mounted for defence, besides thirty-two guns more on the out-works, with eight field-pieces.” The garrison comprised 250 Europeans, each paid at the rate of ninety-one fanams, or £1 2s. 9d. per month; and 200 topasses, at fifty or fifty-two fanams a-month; with some twenty experienced European gunners, at 100 fanams a-month. The captains received fourteen, ensigns ten, serjeants five pagodas† monthly; and corporals received the same salary as the artillerymen. The chief gunner of the inner fort had fourteen, and of the outer works twelve pagodas. About 200 peons, or native police, were constantly retained; and the Portuguese portion of the population were obliged to furnish a company or two of trained bands at their own charge, on any disturbance. The *Black City*—that is, the native town, situated outside the fort to the northward—was encompassed with a thick, high brick wall, and fortified after the modern fashion. Maqua Town, where the Mussulab‡ boatmen live, lay to the southward. The sway of the company extended beyond these limits; for they owned several villages two or three miles further in the country, such as Egmore, New Town, and Old Garden, which they rented out to merchants or farmers for 1,100 pagodas per annum. The “singular decorum observed by the free merchants, factors, servants, and other inhabitants,” is especially noticed by Lockyer, who adds, that the excellent arrangements of Madras, together with “good fortifications, plenty of guns, and much ammunition, render it a bugbear to the Moors, and a sanctuary to the fortunate people living in it.”§

By this account, it is evident that a blessing had attended the Christian labours of Streynsham Masters. His church, as yet the only building in India consecrated by Englishmen to divine worship, is described as a large and stately pile, adorned with

the united funds, consisted of factories at Surat, in the Bay of Bengal, at Masulipatam, Madapollam, on the island of Borneo, and on the island of Pulo Condore, (coast of Cochin China), with the stores and ammunition belonging to each.—*Vide* the “*Quinque Partite Indenture*,” in charters of *E. I. Cy.*, pp. 316—344.

* *Account of the Trade of India*, by Charles Lockyer, pp. 3-4: London, 1711.

† A gold coin varying in value at different times from about nine to ten shillings.

‡ The planks of the large and flat-bottomed Masulab boats are sewn together with twine, which prevents their starting even under the most violent shocks. Their hire was then eighteen-pence a trip.

§ *Account of Trade*, p. 15.

curious carved work, with very large windows, and furnished with a fine altar, organ, and other appurtenances usual to the most complete edifices of its kind, with the exception of bells, which had perhaps been purposely omitted, on account of their intimate connexion with the superstitions of the Brahminical creed. Two ministers were attached to the church, in which services were performed twice a-day. On Sunday, the customary rites were "most strictly observed," and "country Protestants were examined in the catechism." A school, "held in a large room under the library," was open to all children free of charge. According to Lockyer, the ecclesiastical establishment was altogether well conducted, and deserved the high character it bore among the people. Pious persons gave or bequeathed considerable sums to "the church," for charitable purposes; and dying parents chose its representatives as trustees for their children,* a course of proceeding calculated, it is true, to place dangerous weapons of oppression in the hands of a dominant priesthood; but which, in the isolated and unpatronised condition of the religious establishments at Madras, can hardly be viewed in any other light than as evidence of the respect inspired by devout and upright conduct. The project for the formation of a municipal body had

been carried out, and a mayor and six aldermen held a court twice a-week.

The total amount of revenue derived from Madras does not appear:† the scale of salaries was extremely moderate,‡ and probably affords a fair specimen of that laid down for the presidencies of Bombay and Calcutta, to which Lockyer's interesting sketches unfortunately do not extend.§ Disappointment and reverses had by this time greatly modified the ambitious views entertained by the managers of the East India trade. The belligerent and costly policy introduced by Sir Josiah Child and his brother, was succeeded by a directly opposite system—to conciliate rather than to defy and overawe the native princes, was the order of the day; and to this end the Indian officials were directed to carry on their business "without the affectation of pomp and grandeur, as merchants ought to do."|| The large sums spent by the rival companies in outwying and thwarting each other, constituted a departure from the general rule—at least in the case of the older body; but upon their union, this unsatisfactory expenditure ceased, and the leading members of the new concern, who now, under the name of the Court of Directors, took the place of the Court of Committees,¶ enjoined upon their agents the most rigid frugality, which they continued to enforce

* The church stock of unemployed money was lent out at seven per cent. per ann.—(Lockyer, p. 18.)

† Lockyer mentions a seagate custom of £5 per cent., yielding 30,000 pagodas per ann.; and a choultry, or land custom of two-and-a-half per cent. on cloth, provisions, and other goods brought in from the country, yielding 4,000 pagodas. Anchorage and permit dues, licences for fishing, arrack and wine, tobacco and beetle-nut farms, mintage, &c., furnished various sums; but the total must have fallen far short of the expectations expressed by the company in 1691-'2 of drawing as much from Madras as the Dutch did from Batavia; namely, a yearly income of £260,000.—(Bruce, iii., 110.)

‡ The governor had £200 a-year, with a gratuity of £100; of the six councillors, the chief had £100 per ann.; the others in proportion,—£70, £50, and £40 per ann.: six senior merchants had annual salaries of £40; two junior merchants, £30; five factors, £15; ten writers, £5; two chaplains, £100; one surgeon, £36; two "essay masters," £120; one judge, £100; and the attorney-general, fifty pagodas. Married men received from five to ten pagodas per month, as diet money, according to their quality; inferior servants, dining at the general table had no other allowance beyond their salaries than a very trifling sum for washing, and oil for lamps.—(Lockyer's *Trade of India*, p. 14.) The highest appointment at Bombay did not exceed £300 per ann.

§ The condition of several of the minor English settlements at this period is well sketched by

Lockyer:—*Tegnapatam*, or *Fort St. David*, he describes as "a port of great profit, as well for the rents and income arising immediately thereon, as for the great quantities of calicoes and muslins that are brought thence for Europe. *Metchelepattam* [*Masulipattam*], *Vizigapatam*, and *Madapollam*, are factories continued for the sake of red-wood and the cotton-manufactures, which are here in the greatest perfection."—(p. 13.) The factory at Carwar, on the Malabar coast, was provided with eight or nine guns and twenty-six topasses, "to defend it against the insults of the country people."—(p. 269.) The native chief, or rajah, received custom dues of one and-a-half per cent. on all goods imported by the English. At *Tellicherry*, a small fort with a slight guard was maintained to protect the trade in pepper and cardamums, coir, cowries, and chanks from the Maldives. At *Anjengo*, the company possessed a small fort with guns, and a garrison of forty "mongrel Portuguese," to protect the traffic (chiefly pepper), and the "go-downs," or warehouses. Business was carried on by a chief agent, assisted by three or four counsellors, and a surgeon was included in the establishment. At *Calicut*, where there was considerable trade, the English factory was a large old house without fortifications or guns, which the zamorin, like the Mogul, would probably not have suffered any foreigners to maintain within his dominions.

|| Bruce's *Annals of E. I. C^y*, iii., 452.

¶ *Committees*:—in the sense of persons to whom something is committed.

so strictly, that in 1724, the outlay of about £100 in the purchase of a chaise and pair of horses for the president at Calcutta, was reprehended as an unwarrantable proceeding. The directors ordered the amount to be refunded, remarking, that if their servants desired "such superfluities" they must pay for them.* It is certain that the regular salaries given even to the highest functionaries could have barely covered the necessary expenses of Europeans living in a tropical climate. But they had other sources of emolument more or less legitimate. Each *employé* was suffered to prosecute an independent traffic, which he had the best opportunity of doing, as the coasting-trade and likewise the intercourse with all eastern ports north of the equator, except Tonquin and Formosa, had recently† been relinquished by the company to their servants, or to Englishmen licensed to reside in India as free merchants, by which latter arrangement an independent community was gradually formed.

The plan of allowing officials to prosecute business in two distinct capacities, was fraught with evils for which the attendant saving in the item of salaries could make but poor amends. Convenience of situation

* Thornton's *British Empire in India*, i., 75.

† The commerce had formerly been circuitous: the E. I. Co's ships went first to Surat and other northern ports, and disposed of part of their English cargoes in exchange for piece-goods and other commodities, with which they sailed for the southern ports, where these articles were in demand; and procured instead pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and various articles for the European market. This tedious and expensive mode of traffic was abandoned towards the close of the 17th century; direct intercourse was established between London and the Indian ports, and the "country," or coasting-trade, disposed of as above related. The mode of conducting the inland traffic had likewise undergone considerable change. "The sale of the commodities imported from Europe," says Mill, "was transacted in the simplest and easiest of all possible ways; namely, by auction—the mode in which they disposed of Indian goods in England. At the beginning of this traffic, the English, as well as other European adventurers, used to carry their commodities to the inferior towns and markets, transporting them in the *haekeries* [cars] of the country; and established factories and warehouses where the goods were exposed to sale."—(iii., p. 12.) During the confusion, however, which prevailed while the empire of the Moguls was in progress of dissolution, an order was issued forbidding persons in the E. I. Co's service, or under their jurisdiction, to proceed far into the country without special permission; and the care of distributing the goods inland, and of introducing them to the consumers, was left to native and other independent dealers. The collection and custody of the goods which constituted a European "investment," was a more complicated

for the affairs of each individual was the first object to be desired, and as all power of appointment (saving where the rule of seniority applied) was lodged in the president and council jointly, they naturally distributed among their own body the most advantageous offices. The employment and consequent absence of a member of council as chief of an important factory, did not disqualify him for retaining his position in the government; but it could scarcely fail to detract from his efficiency, since few men have sufficient energy, and fewer still sufficient integrity, to perform at one time the arduous duties of a judge, legislator, and politician, and of the head of an extensive commercial establishment in conjunction with the business of a private merchant. No doubt, in most cases, the last-named interest would absorb the others, and neglect of the affairs of government would necessarily follow: to this single cause many of the defects observable in the management of affairs in India, may probably be attributed.

Upon the union of the two companies, a manifest preference was evinced to the agents of the elder body, and especially to Mr. Thomas Pitt,‡ the president of Madras before mentioned, whose ability and discre-

business, especially the purchase of the produce of the loom. The extreme indigence of the weaving class, and the consequent necessity of at all times furnishing them with the materials of their work, or the means of purchasing them, involved considerable advances of capital and a large amount of superintendence, compelling the employment of several distinct sets of agents (*banyans*, *gomastahs*, *dallâls*, and *pycârs*), who made their profit at the expense both of the company and the weaver; the latter, as the weaker party, being naturally the most open to oppression. When the piece of calico or muslin was finished, the *gomastah*, or broker, holds a "kattah,"—examined the work, fixed its price, and paid the workman, who, it is said, was often obliged to accept fifteen or twenty, and often thirty or forty per cent. less than the result of his labour would have fetched in the market.—(Mill, iii., 15.)

‡ Another individual of the same family figures in the history of East Indian affairs: first, as "Pitt the interloper", then as "president and consul Pitt" in the service of the new or English association; and lastly, as one of the highest officials in the employ of the united company, in which position he died in 1703, leaving behind him heavy personal debts and a very questionable reputation as regarded his public dealings. The only doubtful point which I have met with regarding the character of his cousin, Mr. Thomas Pitt, relates to the manner in which the famous diamond, bearing his name, came into his possession. Captain Hamilton avers, that the gem was procured through the intervention of a person named Glover, who, seeing it at Arcot, prevailed upon the proprietor to offer it for sale to the English at Fort St. George, and he placed in his hands

tion had been evinced in the late season of disaster and embarrassment. When the coalition of their employers in England rendered it of the first consequence that their representatives in India should lay aside their contentions, and, if possible, subdue the ill-feeling raised by systematic hostility, Mr. Pitt set a good example, by addressing a communication to the English company, in which he applied to himself "the great saying of King William of blessed memory, to the French king's plenipotentiary at Ryswick, on concluding the peace,—'*twas my fate, and not my choice, that made me your enemy*'; and since you and my masters are united, it shall be my utmost endeavour to purchase your good opinion, and deserve your friendship."*

The treaty of Utrecht happily terminated the long war with France, and England enjoyed a season of commercial prosperity, of which the rapid growth of Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham afford remarkable evidence.† The company likewise prospered, and their imports rose in value from £193,257 in 1708, to £1,059,759 in 1730. The export branch of their trade was far from exhibiting so favourable a result;‡ but the rate of profit steadily increased up to 1723; the dividends augmenting from five per cent. per annum to the proprietors, upon £3,163,200 of capital, until they reached ten per cent.; they then declined to eight per cent., at which annual rate they continued until 1732, when they were reduced to seven per cent., and remained there until 1744, in which year they returned to eight per cent. The in-

3,000 pagodas of his own as a guarantee that no compulsion should be used to oblige him to sell unless he were so inclined. The pledge was broken by Mr. Pitt, and the money forfeited by Glover.—(*New Account of East Indies*, i., 366.) The tale is not very clearly told; the seller, if a native, was probably not the legitimate possessor of the diamond, because all stones, above a certain weight, found in the mines, were claimed by the emperor. This, however, is no excuse for the conduct of Mr. Pitt, if Hamilton's accusation be correct. The traffic in jewels was, it should be stated, considered of much importance, and had been alternately monopolised by the company, and conceded to their servants as an especial privilege.

* *Annals of E. I. Cy.*, year 1702-'3.

† Liverpool, which was not formed into a separate parish till 1699, increased so rapidly, that in 1715, a new parish with a church was erected; and its extent was doubled between 1690 and 1726. Manchester grew with equal rapidity, and was computed, in 1727, to contain no less than 50,000 inhabitants; and at the same period, the metal manufactories of Birmingham, which thirty years before was little

terval between 1708 and 1745 is marked by but few important events. In England the company were employed at various times in procuring decrees against interlopers,§ and obtaining extensions of their exclusive privileges. The opposition of the free trade party was very violent in 1730; and the East India association obtained a renewal of their charter only on condition of the payment of a premium of £200,000, and the reduction of the interest of their capital lent to government from five to four per cent. The term now fixed was to terminate upon three years' notice from March, 1766.

In India the servants of the company watched with alarm the successive contests for the throne, which took place between the death of Aurungzebe and the accession of his great-grandson, Feroksheer, in 1713. Moorshed Kooli Khan (sometimes called Jaffier Khan), who had previously filled the office of dewan, or comptroller of the revenues in Bengal, was appointed subalidar, or viceroy of that province, and subsequently obtained a grant of Bahar and Orissa. The English found his rule arbitrary and extortionate; and, in the hope of obtaining from the emperor a decree for especial protection and concessions, persuaded the directors at home to allow them to send an embassy to the Mogul court. Two factors, selected for their intelligence, were dispatched from Calcutta to Delhi, with an Armenian merchant for their interpreter; and the report of the costly presents of which they were the bearers having preceded them, the governors of the provinces through which their road lay were ordered to show them every respect.|| They more than a village, are represented as giving maintenance to upwards of 30,000 individuals.—(*Anderson's Origin of Commerce*, iii., 143-'4.) To London several new parishes had been added in a short period. And from the year 1708 to 1730, the imports of Great Britain, according to the valuation of the custom-house, had risen from £4,698,663 to £7,780,019; and the exports from £6,969,089, to £11,974,135.—(*Sir Charles Whitworth's Tables*, part i., p. 78.—*Mill*, iii., 25.)

‡ The exportation of 1708 was exceedingly small compared with years immediately following: that of 1709, was £168,357; that of 1730, only £135,481.

§ In 1718, the company were authorised, by act of parliament, to seize all British subjects found trading within their limits, under the commission of a foreign government, and to send them to England, subject to a penalty of £500 for each offence.

|| They seem to have especially dreaded passing through the country of the Jats, near Agra: in communicating their progress to the authorities at Calcutta, the deputation relate having accomplished this part of their journey,—“not meeting with much trouble, except that once in the night, rogues came

reached the capital after journeying three months: but the influence of Moorshed Kooli Khan, through his party, in the divided councils of the state, prevailed; and, notwithstanding their offerings of gold coin, a table-clock set with precious stones, a *unicorn's horn*, a gold escrutoire, a map of the world, japan, lacquered, earthen and cutlery ware, with looking-glasses and red and yellow broad cloth in abundance, the negotiation languished;* and Feroksheer, engaged in preparing for his nuptials with the daughter of the Marwar rajah, Ajcet Sing, would probably have paid no attention to their solicitations, had not the medical skill of one of the party (a surgeon in the company's service) been offered at an opportune moment for the cure of a malady from which he had been long suffering.

Under the treatment of Mr. Hamilton the emperor recovered; and the marriage, which had been delayed on account of his illness, was forthwith consummated. Feroksheer, of whom it has been said that "his only quality was an ill-placed liberality,"† presented his physician with a magnificent *khillut* (see p. 168), 5,000 rupces in coin, and models of all his surgical instruments

in pure gold; at the same time assuring him that any favour he might solicit should be granted. Again, the disinterestedness of a medical officer of the company proved equal to his skill,‡ and Hamilton requested the emperor to concede to the embassy the important privileges they had come to ask; namely:—1st. "That a 'dustuck,' or passport, signed by the president of Calcutta, should exempt the goods it specified from being stopped or examined by the Mogul government, under any pretence: 2ndly. That the officers of the mint at Moorshehabad should at all times, when required, allow three days in the week for the coinage of the East India Company's money: 3rdly. That all persons, *whether Europeans or natives*,§ who might be indebted or accountable to the company, should be delivered up to the presidency at Calcutta on the first demand: 4thly. That the English might purchase the lordship of thirty-eight towns, with the same immunities as Prince Azim Ooshan had permitted them to buy with Calcutta, Chuttanuttec, and Govindpoor."

The petition was granted, notwithstanding the representations of the friends of Moorshed Kooli Khan, the viceroy of Bengal,|| who

on our camp, but being repulsed three times, they left us."—(Auber's *Rise and Progress of British Power in India*, i., 16.)

* The value of the presents was about £30,000, but Khojeh Serhand, the Armenian employed, had given out their value at more than three times that amount—a deception which could not fail to produce disappointment.

† Scott's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 135.

‡ The case of Broughton has been related. According to Orme, the medical skill engaged in the service of the company was likewise instrumental in gaining favour with Aurungzebe, about the time of the first occupation of Calcutta—an English physician being serviceable in administering relief to the emperor, when "sorely tormented with carbuncles," which his own medical attendants could not cure.—(*Historical Fragments of Mogul Empire*, p. 281.)

§ The company lost no opportunity of strengthening and enforcing their authority over their countrymen in India. Independent traders, licensed or unlicensed, were alike on sufferance; and in addressing their presidencies, the directors expressly desire that care should be taken to let even the uncoventanted merchants know "that by the laws, no subject of his majesty can stay in India without our leave; and therefore, as they are there only during good behaviour, so you will let them continue no longer than they deserve it."—*Letter to Bengal*, 1722.

|| According to European and Hindoo writers, the sway of Moorshed Kooli Khan was marked by a degree of barbarous and fiend-like cruelty, which certainly formed no part of the character of Aurungzebe, who, though he never scrupled to make away with the life of a human being if it suited his policy, was nevertheless, as a ruler, decidedly opposed to

capital punishment or the infliction of tortures. The viceroy of Bengal, on the contrary, seems to have used by preference such means of enforcing his authority as were best calculated to strike terror into the minds of all beneath his sway. He never placed confidence in any man, but examined the state of his exchequer daily. Any zemindar found remiss in payment, was put under arrest, guards were placed to prevent his eating and drinking till the deficiency was supplied, and spies watched over the guards to inform if they were bribed, or negligent in their duty. When a district was in arrear, the delinquent zemindar was tormented by every species of cruelty, such as hanging up by the feet, bastinadoing, exposure to the sun in summer, and in winter frequent sprinklings of the bare flesh with cold water. The deputy dewan of the province, Seyed Rezah Khan, who had married the grand-daughter of the Nabob, "in order to enforce payment of the revenues, ordered a pond to be dug, which was filled with everything disgusting, and the stench of which was so offensive, as nearly to suffocate whoever approached it"—to this place the dewan, in derision of the Hindoos, gave the designation of *Bickoont* (a term which signifies their Paradise)—"and after the zemindars had undergone the usual punishments, if their rent was not forthcoming, he caused them to be drawn by a rope tied under the arms through this infernal pond. By such cruel and horrid methods, he extorted from the unhappy zemindars everything they possessed, and made them weary of their lives." Wherever a robbery was committed, the foudjedar was compelled to find out the thief, or to recover the property; and the robber, when caught, was impaled alive, or the body split in two, and hung upon trees on the high road. The Mussulman writers speak of

seems to have been constantly on the watch to repress every indication of increasing power on the part of either Europeans or Hindoos. This lesson he had doubtless learned from his early patron, Aurungzebe; and in practising it, together with other maxims derived from the same school, he earned the cordial detestation of the classes whose views he steadily opposed, and the unbounded admiration of Moguls and Musulmans as the champion of their political supremacy and religious creed. The firmaun (comprising thirty-four patents),* issued at the intercession of Hamilton,† was imperative, but the viceroy contrived to impede the operation of its most important clauses. The thirty-eight villages which the company had obtained leave to purchase, would have given them a district extending ten miles from Calcutta on each side of the river Hooghly, where a number of weavers, subject to their own jurisdiction, might have been established. This arrangement Moorshed Kooli Khan circumvented by using his influence to deter the holders of the land from consenting to its sale. The privilege of granting dustueks or passports, was at first exercised by the president of Calcutta unchallenged, but the extension of immunity from duties from the goods of the company to those of their servants, soon had the effect of exempting not only articles of foreign commerce, but also the produce of the province itself, in its passage by land from one district to another. This the viceroy declared it his determination to prevent, as a practice equally destructive to his revenue and ruinous to the native traders, on whom heavy duties were imposed; and he commanded that the English dustueks Moorshed Kooli Khan as severe in the extreme, but equally impartial, showing favour to no one, and always rewarding merit wherever he found it. His jurisdiction certainly afforded room for praise as well as censure, were it only for his earnest efforts to ward off the terrible calamity of famine, and prevent the monopoly of grain. In private life, he was learned, temperate, and self-denying; refrained wholly from spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs; despised all the refinements of luxury, whether in dress or food; always kept constant to one lawful wife, and would not suffer any strange women or eunuchs to enter the apartments of his seraglio. Every year he sent Korans of his own writing to Mecca, Medina, and other holy places; and during the period of twelve days, which include the anniversaries of the birth and death of Mohammed, he feasted people of all conditions, and caused a road three miles in length to be illuminated with lamps, representing verses of the Koran, mosques, trees, and other figures. He also kept, with great state, another favourite Moslem festival, in which the chief feature is the setting afloat of boats made of bamboo and

should be respected solely in the case of goods imported by sea, or purchased for exportation. The company remonstrated, but in vain; and their servants, checked in their endeavours to grasp the inland trade, directed their ardour to the maritime branch; and their superior skill soon induced the merchants of the province, Moors, Armenians, and Hindoos, to freight most of their exports in English vessels. Within ten years from the period of the embassy, the shipping of the port of Calcutta increased to 10,000 tons.

The non-acquirement of the thirty-eight villages apparently occasioned no great disappointment to the company, who had already adopted the wary and reluctant tone they ever afterwards maintained regarding the increase of their territory. When aware of the sanction obtained by their representatives, they bade them purchase only so much of the lands in question as were immediately contiguous to Calcutta, remarking, that "when Jaffier Khan [Moorshed Kooli Khan] or any other governor, finds you desire only half of what you might insist on, he or they may be the easier to give their consent, and not pick future quarrels; for as our business is trade, it is not political for us to be encumbered with much territory." In a subsequent paragraph, the directors speak of the benefit derivable from the possession of a good dock; and add, "if ever we should be forced to the necessity of it, our settlement there would enable us to command the river; but this is not to be so much as publicly hinted at, lest it alarm the government." Again, in the same month (Feb., 1721), they write to Bengal, "remember we are not fond of much territory, especially paper, ornamented with flags, lamps, &c., as a religious offering.—(Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 378—411; and *Sketches of Bengal*—anonymous.) As a climax to his oppressions in the eyes of the Hindoos, and laudable zeal in those of his fellow-believers, the viceroy, in his old age, caused all the Brahminical temples in Moorshedabad to be pulled down to furnish materials for his tomb.

* Other privileges of less importance than those cited in the previous page, were comprised in these patents, which long constituted the great charter of the English in India. Among them was a decree that the annual payment of a fixed sum to the government of Surat should free the English trade at that port from all duties and exactions; that three villages contiguous to Madras, formerly granted and afterwards resumed by the government of Arcot, should be restored to the company; and the island of Diu, or Divi, near Masulipatam, conceded to them on payment of a fixed rent.—(Grant's *Sketch*, p. 128.)

† Mr. Hamilton died in Calcutta, in 1717. His tombstone was discovered about sixty years after, in digging for the foundations of a new church.

if it lies at a distance from you, or is not near the water-side; nor, indeed, of any, unless you have a moral assurance it will contribute directly or in consequence to our benefit.”*

In Indian affairs, as in the ordinary course of all collective or individual enterprise, successes and reverses† came at the same period from different but equally unexpected quarters. About the date of the successful embassy, a new and powerful rival appeared on the stage. In the year 1716, the governor of the French settlement at Pondicherry, announced to the British at Fort St. David, that there were off the Malabar coast two 40-gun vessels under the imperial colours. These ships belonged to the Ostend East India Company, who were just commencing their operations, but did not gain a regular charter from their sovereign, the Emperor of Austria, till four years afterwards. Dutch, French, and English, immediately made common cause against the intruders, who had now to combat the opposition every nation had encountered from its predecessors in the field of Indian commerce since the Portuguese first interrupted the navigation of the Arabs and Moors. In the present case it was argued, that the concession of a charter by the emperor to the Ostend company, was a breach of faith towards the English and Dutch, inasmuch as it was by their united prowess that the ten provinces of the Netherlands, which remained in allegiance to Spain during the war of independence, were transferred from that kingdom to the crown of Austria. The Dutch insisted upon the continuance of the restriction forcibly imposed by them on the trade of these provinces while they constituted a portion of the Spanish dominions; and asserted that this prohibition was implied in the very terms of the barrier-treaty from which the emperor derived his authority. They seconded their arguments by active hostile measures: seized the vessels of the Ostend company, with their cargoes; and forbade the subjects of the states from

all concern in the undertaking on the severest penalties,—even, it is said, on pain of death. France and England adopted the same selfish policy, though they did not carry it out with equal asperity. Louis XV. published a declaration denouncing various forfeitures, and in some cases, imprisonment and exile on any of his people who should enter into the service of the Ostend association, or hold shares in their stock. Similar punishments were held forth by George I. and his parliament, to deter British subjects from taking part in the new adventure; and one instance, at least, occurred of an Ostend ship, homeward-bound and richly freighted, being captured by a British privateer. All this persecution did not deter the Netherlands from their object: it was to them as a breathing time from oppression; and they struggled with determination, and in a commercial point of view, with success, against their foes. Their charter was granted in 1723; in less than twenty-four hours their subscription-books were filled up; and within a month the shares were sold at a premium of fifteen per cent. At a meeting of proprietors in 1726, the remaining instalment on the subscriptions, equal to a dividend of thirty-three and one-third per cent., was paid up from the gains of the trade. Thus far, the emperor had persevered in upholding the company, and in granting them commissions of reprisal, in which course he had been confirmed by an article in the treaty of Vienna in 1725, by which Spain guaranteed the continuance of the association. But this alliance was of brief duration, and only served to rouse the jealousy of other European powers. It was followed by a combination which resulted in the treaty of Hanover, between France, England, Holland, and Denmark, by which among other provisions, the contracting parties mutually guaranteed their respective commercial claims to the exclusion of the Ostend company.‡ The emperor, deserted by his only ally the King of Spain, could not oppose this formidable confederacy with-

Pulo Condore were barbarously massacred by the soldiery, in 1705, and nearly two years afterwards the same fate overtook those at Banjar Massin, only a few escaping with life. In Sumatra (at Bencoolen), a severe and prolonged struggle took place: the natives compelled the British to evacuate Fort Marlborough, in 1718; but fearing to fall into the hands of the Dutch, suffered the English to return and resettle their factories, in 1721.—(Grant's *Sketch*.)

‡ The Ostend company, though not expressly named, are plainly alluded to in this treaty, to which Prussia and Sweden were likewise parties.

* Auber's *Rise and Progress*, vol. i., 25.

† During the first half of the 18th century the English East India trade experienced some severe checks in China and the eastern islands. It seemed as if, *volens-volens*, they were to be driven to expend all their energies on the Indian peninsula. Their factors were compelled, with great loss of goods and stores, to quit Chusan, where they had commenced a settlement, and a worse result attended their endeavours to establish themselves on Pulo Condore, an island subject to the Cochin Chinese, and at Banjar Massin, in Borneo. The British at

out endangering the object he had most at heart—namely, to secure the transmission of his crown to his daughter and only child, Maria Theresa; and he was reluctantly compelled to sign a treaty, in 1727, by which the Ostend company was suspended for seven years; and before the expiration of that term, he, by the treaty of Seville, pledged himself to its complete dissolution.

The whole of these transactions, while affording strong evidence of the value attached to the Asiatic trade, certainly exhibit the exclusive companies of the most powerful European states of the period in a very unpleasing light, as concurring, in the open face of day, to crush the attempt of a persecuted people to regain their lost prosperity, and draw from the deep fountain of foreign commerce their portion of the invigorating streams by which other countries had been long fertilised.*

At this time the commerce of Sweden had recovered from the depression caused by the wars of Charles XII. Brilliant victories cannot neutralise the disastrous and exhausting effect of war on the energies of a people; and many Swedish citizens forsook their native land for countries in which they could hope to sow the seed and reap the harvest of their labours unmolested. The restoration of tranquillity gave the signal for the return of those wanderers, who brought with them in some cases comparative wealth, and for the most part a spirit of enterprise yet more beneficial to the state.

An opulent merchant of Stockholm, named

* The ten provinces, it will be remembered, which remained under the possession of Spain, were bestowed by Philip on his daughter and her husband, the Archduke of Austria, with a stipulation in the deed of conveyance prohibiting their subjects from sailing to America or the East Indies. Vainly the Netherlands presented petition after petition to the court of Madrid: they could obtain no redress. The wealth and industry of the country took refuge in Protestant lands,—in the congenial atmosphere of civil and religious freedom. Cities, once the hives of industry, were deserted; and even Antwerp, lately the commercial capital and emporium of Europe, was reduced almost to a solitude;—its harbour abandoned by shipping—its exchange by merchants. Upon the death of Isabella, in 1698, the sovereignty reverted to Spain; and the king was persuaded to grant to the Netherlands the liberty of trading to those parts of the Indies settled by Portugal, then under his sway. The revolt of the Portuguese in 1640 was attended with the resumption of such of their Indian possessions as had not fallen into the power of the Dutch; and the hopes of the Netherlands were again disappointed. In 1698, Carlos II. the last of the Austrian kings of Spain, granted them permission to trade with such parts of India and the coast of Guinea as

Koning, observed the temper of his countrymen, and connecting with it the number of men possessed of capital and of commercial and nautical knowledge turned adrift by the destruction of the Ostend company, considered that a favourable opportunity had arrived for the establishment of an East India trade in Sweden. A company was formed, and a royal charter granted in 1731, empowering them to trade to all countries between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, provided they refrained from entering havens occupied by any European power without permission. Gottenberg was to be the sole port of outfit and arrival, and for the disposal of the imports, which might be done only by public sale. In all points regarding duties the regulations were extremely liberal. The direction was to be entrusted to native or naturalised subjects of Sweden, and to Protestants only. The Dutch opposed the new association at the onset; and the chief of their two first vessels,† the *Frederick*, was seized in the Straits of Sunda, and carried into Batavia; but the representations of the Swedish minister procured its liberation, and both the States-General and the company disavowed having given any order for its interception. The poverty and low commercial reputation of Sweden, probably yet more than the total absence of any pretext for questioning her right of intercourse with other independent kingdoms, prevented any systematic opposition being set up by the leading European powers to this new candidate for eastern trade. The Swedes, from

were not preoccupied by Europeans; but before they could take advantage of this charter, the death of their royal patron occurred, A.D. 1700, and was followed by the long and sanguinary war of succession which convulsed Europe for thirteen years. At the conclusion of peace they fell under the dominion of the house of Austria; and the emperor, desirous of encouraging the commerce of his new subjects, but fearful of provoking the enmity of the maritime powers (as England and Holland were then termed), he at first, as has been shown, could only be prevailed on to sanction separate voyages, the success of which incited the formation of a temporary association, which was soon followed by that of the chartered company, whose efforts were brought to an untimely termination in 1727. Among the accusations made against the Ostend company was that of being most determined smugglers, especially of tea, which they imported largely into Great Britain. However, as one wrong, though it cannot justify, is usually held to palliate another (at least in the sight of human tribunals), the Ostenders might well plead that excuse for their adoption of the sole means of retaliation in their power.

† The *Frederick* and *Ulrica*; named after the king and queen of Sweden.

the beginning, traded almost entirely with China,* and tea formed at least four-fifths of their exports, of which a very small part was consumed in Sweden, the remainder being sold for ready-money to foreigners, chiefly for the purpose of being smuggled into Great Britain—a practice which the heavy duties levied upon this article greatly encouraged.

To return to the business of the three presidencies. The death of the aged viceroy of Bengal, in 1725, seems to have occasioned fear and regret, and the English, after so long complaining of his cruelty and extortion, now openly lamented his loss. The truth was, that Moorshed Kooli Khan, in common with the Nizam Asuf Jah, and other statesmen of Aurungzebe's stamp, had imbibed from their imperial master habits of unflagging and methodical application to the whole duties of their position, whether civil or military, which raised them in a remarkable manner above the sensual and sluggish condition into which the Moguls had sunk under the enfeebling influence of an eastern climate and unchecked luxury.† Moreover, the English had other reasons for viewing any change of this kind with anxiety; for the weakness of the present representative of the house of Timur, rendered it doubtful whether the succession to the vicereignty might not prove a question to be decided by force of arms. This fear was removed by the uncontested appointment of Shuja Khan, the son-in-law of the deceased; but upon his death, in 1739, a struggle ensued between his son, Serferaz Khan, and his ungrateful but able dependent, the famous Ali Verdi Khan, who, after slaying the heir of his patron in battle, usurped the government, in which he contrived to establish himself. The piracies of the sons of Kanhojee Angria,‡ a Malabar chieftain, about this period, sensibly affected the advancement of the English trade, and injured yet more deeply the failing strength of the Portuguese. The invasion of Nadir Shah, in 1739, was a shock which was felt through the length and breadth of the Indian continent: it announced in language not to be misunderstood the downfall of a once mighty

empire, and was as the tocsin of war in the ears of the governors of the various provinces, who, though still maintaining a semblance of respect to their nominal master, were really anxious only about one another's intrigues, and the increasing power of the Mahrattas. The incursions of this nation into Bengal, and their demand of *chout*, or a fourth of the total revenues, was resolutely opposed by Ali Verdi Khan; and, while strengthening his own defences, he granted permission to the English at Calcutta to form a trench round the city to the extent of seven miles (the company's bounds), still known as the *Mahratta ditch*.

Meanwhile events were occurring in Europe destined to produce very important consequences in India. On the death of the emperor, Charles VI., in the year 1740, a violent war, kindled by competition for the imperial dignity, and for a share in the spoils of Austria, commenced in Germany. In this contest France and England (the latter through her Hanoverian connexions) had both engaged, and, in the end, had become nearly, or rather altogether, principals. In 1744, the two governments exchanged declarations of war, and before long their most distant settlements experienced the devastating consequences of international strife.

No material changes had taken place in the position of the European settlements since the commencement of the century. A single deviation from the exclusive policy pursued by the sovereigns of Portugal occurred in 1731, when the king granted permission for a single ship to make a single voyage to Surat and the coast of Coromandel, and back to Portugal. A company was formed for the purpose, but the experiment being attended with little success, was not repeated.

The Dutch continued to exercise a profitable, though (as far as India was concerned) a diminishing trade. The war with the zamorin commenced in 1701,—was terminated by a treaty of peace in 1710; but again renewed in 1715, when the zamorin surprised the fort of Chittua, which had been constructed in order to keep him in check. This event was followed by the invasion of

strance to their Bengal agents, in the style of one already quoted, on their extravagant way of living, desiring them especially to eschew the "foppery of having a set of music at table, and a coach-and-six, with guards and running footmen, as we are informed is now practised, not only by the president, but by some of inferior rank."

‡ See page 168.

* The supercargo of the *Frederick*, a Mr. Colin Campbell, was invested with the character of ambassador to the emperor of China, and some other eastern princes.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 308.)

† The directors of the E. I. Co. continued extremely desirous to prevent their servants from acquiring habits of indulgence which might impair their usefulness; and in 1731 they addressed a serious remon-

his country by an army of fully 4,000 men (Europeans and natives); and, in 1717, a new treaty was concluded on terms, according to Stavorinus, by no means advantageous to the Dutch, "in comparison with what might and ought to have been insisted on."* The same authority states, that during the continuance of hostilities "the English, or rather their commandant at Tellicherry, had assisted the zamorin with money, ammunition, and gunners." The evidence on which this assertion is made does not appear. Without any such auxiliary, the neighbouring rajahs were probably quite strong enough to compete with the Dutch, whose military proceedings increased in cost as they decreased in efficiency. The "supreme government," as it was termed, at Batavia, addressing the local authorities at Malabar, in 1721, express astonishment at the renewed spirit of hostility towards the native powers manifested by them, and also at their extravagant expenditure. They added, that "in case the zamorin thought fit to attack the rajah of Cochin, who had so long enjoyed the protection of the company, they should not take an active part in the quarrel." This direction was nothing less than the ungrateful abandonment of a dynasty which, from the time of the hostilities provoked by the aggressions of the Portuguese under Alvarez Cabral, in 1501, had sided with the Europeans. The Cochin rajahs had, it would seem, been little more than tools in the hands of the Dutch, who now so ungenerously abandoned them to their incensed countrymen. The impolicy of this proceeding, in a worldly sense, equalled its injustice as a question of principle. The

zamorin and the rajah of Travancore extended their dominions by the diminution of those of the chiefs dependent on the Dutch; until the Travancore prince, in 1739, by his repeated successes acquired a reputation which rendered him respected and feared throughout the Malabar coast. His attachment to the English was another argument against him with the Dutch officials; and one of them, Van Imhoff, who came over from Ceylon, in 1739, to examine into the state of affairs, represented that a total reformation was absolutely necessary, and could be effected only in two ways. The first was, to follow the market price for pepper; the second, to enforce the contracts into which the natives were said to have entered, of traffic with the Dutch only, by forcibly exacting penalties in case of their non-performance, "or by surprising and carrying off to Batavia one or other of those princes, who showed themselves the most refractory, which would create so much terror among them, that it would not be necessary to resort to the same expedient a second time." This latter method M. Van Imhoff concluded would be the best; nor does it appear that any exception was taken at the cruelty and injustice of the plan thus suggested.† Happily for the Malabar rajahs, and possibly still more happily for the Dutch, no opportunity occurred for carrying it into execution, and the Malabar officials were compelled to adopt a more open mode of warfare, which they did without even asking orders from Batavia on the subject, though they were soon obliged to send there for assistance, against the consequences of an unprovoked attack made by them on the

* Stavorinus' *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 239.

† Other officials in the service of the Dutch E. I. Cy. appear to have possessed and acted upon principles of the same character displayed by M. Van Imhoff. A terrible catastrophe occurred in Batavia, in 1740. The identical accusation brought forward against the English at Amboyna, was here urged against the Chinese inhabitants, who, it was alleged, had conspired to extirpate the Dutch, and were able to muster 90,000 men. On this pretext a pitiless massacre of the Chinese commenced, and the quarter of the town occupied by them was burnt to ashes, being set on fire, as was said, by themselves in despair. The number of the Chinese slaughtered on this occasion is estimated at from 12,000 to 30,000; and the amount of plunder taken from them was enormous. No clear account of the origin of the business ever appeared, to refute the statement of the suffering party,—that the conspiracy had been on the side of the Dutch, who were heavily indebted to the persons they accused. The governor himself shipped property for Holland to an amount stated at half a

million sterling. No public trial took place; but the reason is evident from the fact, that two members of the council, and the fiscal, were deprived of their offices and put in prison, together with the governor, who remained there till the day of his death. Although most anxious to hush up the matter, it was deemed necessary to send an embassy to the Emperor of China, and explain away, as far as possible, or at least palliate the fearful crimes committed, by representing it as an act of justice, much fear being excited that, on the persons of the Dutch at Canton, the emperor might find vent for the wrathful feelings likely to be roused by the slaughter of his people. The answer proved the needlessness of such anxiety; the ambassador being informed that this paternal sovereign "took no concern in the fate of unworthy subjects, who had abandoned their native country, and the tombs of their ancestors, to live under the dominion of foreigners for the greed of gain;" a very impolitic as well as unfeeling sentiment to proceed from the mouth of the ruler of so densely populous an empire.—(Macpherson's *Commerce*.)

rajah of Travancore. The Dutch company could ill bear this addition to the burthen already imposed by the war in Macassar,—a locality which, as it had been the arena of some of their most cruel aggressions, in devastating the land, and carrying off the inhabitants in large numbers as slaves, so it became the scene of many of their greatest calamities and embarrassments.*

The DANISH East India Company had endeavoured to take advantage of the suppression of the Ostend society; and their king, Frederick IV., lent a willing ear to arguments similar to those which had been successfully urged by Koning upon the Swedish monarch, regarding the advantage of enlisting in the service of Denmark the capital and ability of the Netherland merchants, prohibited from trading under their own flag. A charter was granted, in 1728, authorising the opening of an additional subscription-list for new members, and an India House was established at Altona, a Danish town adjacent to Hamburg. The English and Dutch companies remonstrated warmly against this measure, as little less than the reproduction of the Ostend association under a fresh name. Their jealous opposition succeeded in procuring the abandonment of the Hamburg establishment; but it raised, in the minds of the Danes, a strong feeling of the importance of the commerce so sharply watched by rival societies, and induced a large number of persons to take part in it.

* Their general trade continued, notwithstanding these drawbacks, steadily lucrative. During the first twenty-one years of their existence—that is, from 1602 to 1622—the company divided thirty million florins; being more than quadruple the original stock. From the year 1605 to 1728 the dividends amounted to about twenty-two per cent. per annum, sometimes paid in bank money, sometimes in cloves. Thus, on the original capital of £650,000, eighteen million sterling were paid as dividends, besides the necessary accumulation of property in territory, forts, and ships. The price of the stock, between 1723 and 1760, bore a premium varying from 320 to 650 per cent. The annual fleet dispatched from Holland was very large. From the year 1720 to 1729, inclusive, the number amounted to 372 vessels (giving an annual average of thirty-seven), with crews comprising nearly 70,000 men. The dividends, during the same period, averaged twenty-three per cent. Various renewals of their charter had been obtained, at different times, from the States-General, notwithstanding considerable opposition on the part of the public, which was silenced, in the ears of government, by the payment of large sums of money on various occasions. In 1740, unusual difficulties appear to have been met with, and the company could only obtain a prolongation of their privileges for a single year; nor was it until 1748 that they succeeded in procuring the desired grant, which was

A new and very favourable charter, granted to the company in 1732, for a term of forty years, contains among its clauses two which are interesting, even after the lapse of more than a century. One was a proviso, “that the strictest attention should be paid to the morals of the people sent out to India in the company’s service”—a point which had been heretofore sadly disregarded; the other threw a shield round the individual interests of the proprietors, by enacting that “no money should be lent or borrowed without the consent of a general meeting of the proprietors.”† The trade carried on after this period, though never very extensive, became decidedly prosperous, and continued so during the remainder of the eighteenth century.

FRANCE had advanced far more perceptibly towards the close of the epoch now under consideration. In 1714, the E. I. Cy. again applied for and obtained a renewal of their charter. Exhausted funds, and a debt amounting to 10,000,000 livres, seemed to afford little prospect of remunerative trade during the ten years for which their exclusive privileges were continued; but before the expiration of that period, their separate existence was merged in the extraordinary association formed by the famous schemer, John Law.‡ In the year 1720, England and France exhibited to the world at large the disgraceful spectacle of the governments of two great nations struggling to shake off

then conceded for a term of twenty-seven years.—(Milburn, Macpherson, and Stavorinus.)

† Macpherson’s *Commerce with India*, p. 239.

‡ This remarkable man (the son of an Edinburgh goldsmith), persuaded the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, in 1716, to adopt his plans of finance and commerce as a means of honourably relieving the government and nation from a debt of about £90,000,000 sterling, (mainly caused by the lavish expenditure of Louis XIV.,) in preference to the disgraceful alternative actually propounded of disavowing the large quantity of depreciated paper-money, which had been issued from the Parisian treasury. The first step taken by Law was the formation of a public Bank, with a capital of six million livres, divided into 1,200 shares; its business to be confined to receiving money on deposit, and lending it at a moderate rate of interest on personal or proprietary security. The project became immediately popular; hoarded coin found its way to the coffers of the Bank, the notes of which became current throughout Europe: the West India Company furnished £3,937,500; and the increased circulating medium gave new energy to agriculture, commerce, and the arts. During the excitement which ensued, Law wielded unlimited power, and his personal health became a matter of intense anxiety and eager speculation. In 1717, he founded the *Mississippi company*, with which was subse-

the involvements caused by war and lavish expenditure, and to lessen their public debts by sanctioning schemes which, being manifestly unjust in principle, could not fail to prove injurious to the multitudes who, unaccustomed, under any circumstances, to examine into the truth of plausible statements, would accept them without hesitation when made current by the approbation of the legislature, and thus cruelly misled, rush headlong into ruin. The conduct of the ministry and parliament of England, though deeply blamable in regard to the South Sea bubble, was far surpassed in dishonesty and infatuation by the proceedings of the rulers of the French nation, in carrying out the complication of incongruous projects called "Law's system." The "Royal Bank" constituted the leading and absorbing feature of the whole; and of the numerous societies whom their own credulity or the manœuvring of stock-jobbers had impelled within the vortex, the East India body alone appear to have survived the general wreck.

This company arose strong in the "perpetual and irrevocable"* privileges inherited from its defunct associates, and secured in its pecuniary welfare by the arbitrary measures enacted in 1721 for the diminution of its shares, which benefited the corporation by a method peculiar to despotic governments—of annihilating the property of their own subjects by a few strokes of the pen, without so much as a

pretence of compensation. At the same time, the nomination of directors was claimed for the Crown, and likewise the right of appointing one, two, or even three commissioners, with considerable controlling powers over the directors, with whom they were constantly at variance. Notwithstanding this great drawback, the company pursued their eastern trade with much energy. Their Indian debts—the accumulation of a long series of years—were paid off; and, on the appointment of the able and upright Orry as minister of finance, measures were adopted for the improvement and defence of the Indo-French settlements. Pondicherry, after its surrender by the Dutch, in 1697, had been restored to the superintendence of M. Martin. By his prudence and integrity the basis of its prosperity was laid in the confidence of the natives, who gladly settled under his protection; and in course of time the village grew into a large and regular city, containing 70,000 inhabitants, of whom the European proportion continued, of course, extremely small. The French had also factories or *comptoirs* at Mahé, not far south from Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast; and at Chandernagore, on the Hooghly, in Bengal. Dumas, the governor-general appointed by Orry, increased the revenues of the company by obtaining permission from the Mogul, in 1734, to coin money in the fort of Pondicherry; and the rupees struck there yielded a profit of nearly £20,000 per annum for several years. In

quently incorporated the *Canada, China, Senegal, St. Domingo, Guinea, and East India* associations. The united body became generally known as the *Company of the West*—or sometimes of the *Indies*—and had a capital stock of one hundred million livres, it being the scheme of Mr. Law to pay the holders of government paper with the stock (or shares) of this company. All the nations of Europe became infected with the mania of suddenly growing rich by the issue of paper-money, and capitalists flocked by thousands to Paris from every metropolis: the shares bore a premium of 1,200 per cent., and the government granted to the company various privileges,—such as the sole vending of tobacco, the mint, and general farming of all the revenues, in consideration of a loan to the king of fifty million sterling towards the liquidation of the public debt. Capital was nominally added by several expedients: gold was forbidden in trade; and the coin successively diminished in value, until the people of France gladly brought their specie to the Bank, and converted their stock in the public funds into shares of the company, by which proceeding the national debt would, it was supposed, be paid off. The mania lasted about a twelve-month, and then the bubble burst, in spite of every endeavour to continue its inflation. A terrible panic ensued, and was followed by a long season of indi-

vidual misery and general depression. Multitudes of all classes awoke from their dream of wealth to the realities of want, and the government reeled under the shock which attended the downfall of its splendid projects for re-establishing the public credit. The "Sieur Law," comptroller-general of the finances and inspector-general of the Royal Bank, and all its associate societies, disappeared from France, and died in obscurity, without having acquired any thing very considerable for himself, although he had it once in his power (so far as human judgment can decide) to have become the richest subject in Christendom.—(Anderson's *Origin of Commerce*, years 1716 to 1720. Macpherson's *European Commerce with India*, pp. 264 to 276. Justamond's translation of the Abbé Raynal's *European Settlements in the East and West Indies*, vol. ii., pp. 61 to 68.)

* Macpherson's *Commerce*, p. 269. It is a trite remark, but singularly apposite to the present case, that governments are never so ready to concede unlimited privileges as when their own authority stands on a tottering and precarious footing. In examining into all questions regarding the grant of exclusive privileges, and their bearing in a national point of view, it is always important to understand clearly the condition of the acting prince or government at the time of making such concessions.

1739 the French took forcible possession of Karical, on the Coromandel coast, which was confirmed to them by a grant from the rajah of Tanjore. Meanwhile, war was being carried on between Dost Ali, the governor or nabob of Arcot, and the Mahrattas under Ragojee Bhonslay, which terminated in the defeat of the former. His family, and several of his subjects, took refuge in Pondicherry, whither Ragojee pursued them, and threatened to besiege the place, unless they were surrendered. This Dumas positively refused; and at length, after plundering far and near, the Mahrattas accepted a small subsidy, and retired from the field in April, 1741. Sudder Ali, the son of the deceased nabob, is alleged to have made a princely return for the protection bestowed upon his relatives, by ceding to Dumas personally three districts, in value amounting to nearly £100,000 sterling per annum. The emperor Mohammed is stated, by the same authority, to have confirmed this grant, and further to have sent Dumas a dress of honour, bestowed on him the title of nabob (a dignity never before conferred on a European), and made him a *Munsudbar* of 4,500—that is, a commander entitled to the rank and salary associated with the control of that (often almost nominal) number of cavalry. These distinctions were, it is added, transferred to his successor, the afterwards famous Dupleix.*

Another justly celebrated man was then at the head of the presidency established by the French in the Indian seas, which comprised the two islands of Mauritius and Mascarenhas, otherwise called Isles of France or Cerné, and of Bourbon. M. de la Bourdonnais was a native of St. Malo, and had been at sea since the age of ten years. In the course of his voyages he had the opportunity of observing the advantages of the coasting trade of India, in which he was the first of his nation to embark. In a few years he realised a considerable fortune, and by sheer force of character, acquired much influence over those with whom he associated. A violent quarrel between the crews of some Arabian and Portuguese ships, in the harbour of Mocha, was ami-

cably adjusted through his intervention; and the viceroy of Goa, greatly relieved by this termination of an affair which threatened fatal consequences, invited the successful mediator to enter the service of Portugal, gave him the title of agent for that power on the coast of Coromandel, together with the command of a royal ship, the rank of Fidalgo, and enrolled him as a member of the order of knighthood profanely termed "of Christ." In this honourable position he remained for two years, and then, in 1733, returned to France, where his reputation for ability and uprightness procured him the appointment of governor-general of the Mauritius and Mascarenhas, where he arrived in 1735. His conduct here was truly admirable. He found the people poor, indolent, and ignorant; but by dint of unwearied application, and a capacity for taking the initiative in everything connected with the material welfare of the settlements over which he had been chosen to preside, he effected improvements which seemed, says Raynal, "owing to enchantment."† The functions of governor, judge, surveyor, engineer, architect, agriculturist, were alternately performed by this one man, who could build a ship from the keel, construct vehicles, and make roads; break in bulls to the yoke, or teach the method of cultivating wheat, rice, cassava, indigo, and the sugar-cane. He established an hospital for the sick, and notwithstanding his multifarious occupations, visited it regularly every morning for a whole twelvemonth. Neither his unwearied labours, nor the extraordinary success with which they were attended, sufficed to shield him from the shafts of calumny. Some ship-captains and other visitors of the island, whom he checked in their unreasonable demands, laid unfounded charges against him before the directors, and the high-spirited governor was consequently exposed to treatment which induced him to return to France, in 1740, with the intention of resigning his harassing and thankless office.‡ This Orry would not permit, but induced him to return to the Isles, and encouraged his plans for the extension of French power in the East, and of hostility

to the common foe of Mohammedans, the Mahrattas.

† *European Settlements in E. & W. Indies*, ii., 75.

‡ Raynal states, that La Bourdonnais, being asked how he had conducted his private affairs with more ability than those of his employers, replied: "I managed mine according to my own judgment, and those of the company according to their directions."

* See Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, i., 389. This usually correct writer possibly attributes to Dumas honours conferred on or assumed by Dupleix a few years later. Dost Ali was himself an interloper, unconfirmed by the emperor or the viceroy of the Deccan; and it is strange that the extravagant grant made by his son should have received the imperial sanction, even though bestowed in reward of opposi-

against the English. La Bourdonnais could not, however, procure adequate means for the execution of his extensive projects; but the force entrusted to him was usefully employed in raising the siege of Mahé, invested by the Mahrattas in 1741, after which he again occupied himself with the same energy as before in the details of his own government.

Dupleix, the French governor-general in India, was perhaps equal to his colleague in a certain description of ability, and probably superior to him in education and social position (his father having been a farmer-general of the revenues, and a director of the East India Company); but in manliness and integrity he was incomparably the inferior. In 1720, Dupleix was appointed first member of the council at Pondicherry; and here he continued for ten years, carefully studying the politics of the epoch, and accumulating property by engaging in the commerce of the country, from which the poverty of the servants of the French company for the most part debarred them. In 1730 he was sent to superintend the settlement at Chandernagore, which he found in a very neglected condition. Under his rule a great change took place, and the increase of wealth and population was marked by the erection of no less than 2,000 brick houses. A new trading establishment was formed at Patna through his exertions, and the French commerce in Bengal became an object of envy to all other Europeans. These indubitable proofs of legislative ability, aided probably by the influence of family connexion at home, procured for Dupleix the position of governor-general. It would seem as if the peculiar vices of his character had lain dormant while he remained in a subordinate position, but were called into action by the possession of supreme authority over his countrymen in India, checked only by responsibility to a distant and ill-informed body of directors. Ambitions in the extreme, inordinately vain, and no less restless and intriguing, Dupleix, from this period, constantly manifested a degree of littleness which made his really remarkable talents a matter of doubt in the sight of many who deemed such opposite qualities incompatible.

It may be imagined that a man of this character would neglect no opportunity of distinguishing himself and extending the power of his nation at the expense of the English; but his appointment at Pondicherry had been accompanied by such stringent commands for a general diminution of outlay,

that he dared not commence hostilities, but was compelled to content himself by taking measures (in contravention to his instructions) for placing Pondicherry in a strongly defensible condition.

The state of the ENGLISH COMPANY at this period has been sufficiently shown in preceding pages. They do not appear to have numbered among their servants any leader fitted by experience and ability to oppose with success the generalship of La Bourdonnais, or the wiles of Dupleix. Happily for England, want of union in the councils of the enemy, tended to diminish the danger of their hostile attempts.

Before proceeding to narrate the struggle between the two nations, it is necessary to pause and briefly notice the leading territorial divisions of India at the epoch when the Mogul yoke changed from an iron chain to a rope of sand, and imperial viceroy or subahdars, nabobs or deputy governors, rajahs and rajas, naiks, wadevars, polygars, zemindars, and innumerable chiefs of lesser note and differing titles, strove each one for the aggrandisement and independence of himself or his own family. A similar summary has been given previous to the invasion of India by the followers of Mohammed (pp. 39 to 43); as also at the epoch formed by the accession of Akber in 1556 (pp. 93 to 107): it is now important to note the origin and condition of several newly-created principalities, and also the changes which had taken place in the older states, in the course of the intervening period of nearly two centuries, for the sake of affording a means of reference, the value of which will be apparent when the narrative of European progress brings into prominent notice nabobs and rajahs taking their titles from places as yet unheard of.

INDIAN STATES—1740 TO 1745.—The invasion of Nadir Shah, in 1739 (as has been shown in previous pages), left the Great Mogul in the dismantled palace of his ancestors, with an exhausted treasury and an empire diminished by the severance of CABOOL, SINDE, and MOULTAN. A few years later, and another jewel was snatched from the imperial crown. The lovely valley of CASHMERE, ever since its acquisition by Akber, had been the favourite retreat of successive monarchs from the intense summer-heats of Delhi or Agra. Here Jehangher had held many a Bacchanalian revel, and spent long hours in dalliance with the gifted but unprincipled Nour Mahal, watch-

ing her distilling the far-famed essence of the rose, or listening to her magnificent projects for the erection of public edifices, mingled, too often, with unworthy schemes of ambition or revenge. Here Shah Jehan passed many bright summers before death took away Taj Mahal, the wife whom he truly loved, and before the quarrels and rebellion of the children she had borne, brought to him, in retribution for the unsparing cruelty which had attended his accession to the throne, an old age of sorrowful captivity. Here Aurungzebe, proof alike against the enervating influences of climate, the charms of the seraglio, the seductions of wine, or the intoxicating drugs which had been the bane of his race, pondered in austere seclusion over the complicated web he spent a life in weaving, with the bitter result of finding himself at last entangled in his own toils. Here, lastly, Mohammed Shah came, in the first flush of regal grandeur, to forget, amid a crowd of giddy courtiers, the heavy responsibilities of the inheritance of despotic power which his indolent, easy nature rendered peculiarly burdensome; and here, too, he came in age, and beholding the vessel of the state, committed by Providence to his guidance, reduced almost to a wreck, by calamities brought on by internal corruption, rather than by external strife, he probably learnt the causes of evils it was too late to remedy, but which he encountered with a quiet dignity and forbearance that served to keep together some of the shattered remains of imperial power. Cashmere was, however, seized by Ahmed Shah Abdulli, and incorporated in the new kingdom of Candahar; and the conqueror proceeded to invade the PUNJAUB, and had even crossed the Sutlej, when he was met by the Mogul army (under his namesake the heir-apparent), completely defeated, and driven back. This victory was followed almost immediately by the death of Mohammed Shah, and the accession of Prince Ahmed. The period, however, of which we are treating commences with the

* The rise of the Mahrattas materially aided the Jats, by withdrawing Aurungzebe from the neighbourhood of Agra; but the statement of Grant Duff, that the plunder of the imperial army enabled them to fortify Bhurtpoor, is contradicted by Elphinstone.—(*India*, ii., 511. See also Thornton's *Indian Gazetteer*, in four vols., London, 1854—article, Bhurtpore.)

† See p. 171.—The founder of the Rohillas is described by Duff as the son of a Hindoo *Aheer*, a class of shepherds nearly similar to the *Dhungurs* of Maharashtra. An Afghan adopted him when a boy, and gave him the name of Ali Mohammed Rohilla.

departure of the Persian invaders (1739.) The intrigues of viceroys and governors were speedily resumed when the first stunning effect of the late calamity had passed away. In OUDE, Sadut Khan had been succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Suffer Jung. In the PUNJAUB, the rebellion of the Mogul viceroy soon produced renewed incursions from the Afghan border, and the province of GUZERAT fell completely into the hands of the Mahrattas. The three chief Rajpoot states of JEYPOOR (Amber), JODHPUR (Marwar), and OODIPOOR (Mewar), were still, to some extent, tributary to the emperor. The two last-named had been subjected to partial devastation from the Mahrattas; but the intimate connexion subsisting between Rajah Jey Sing and Bajee Rao, prevented such aggressions in the districts of Jeypoor, at the cost to the empire of the province of MALWA. The JATS, established in the territory between Agra and Jeypoor, were rapidly gaining ground; and after the Mahrattas crossed the Chumbul, they, for the most part, maintained a friendly intercourse with their fellow-marauders.* The principality afterwards known by the name of ROHILLA, was in progress of establishment in THE DOAB, little more than a hundred miles to the southward of Delhi.† BENGAL, BAHAR, and ORISSA were under the sway of Ali Verdi Khan, but subject to the exactions of the Mahrattas, to whom the whole of India was rapidly becoming more or less tributary. When one pretext failed, another could easily be found by those who had the power of enforcing their most unreasonable demands. A district once overrun, was said to be under tribute from usage, whilst *chout* and *surdeshmooki* were extorted from the others by virtue of letters patent.‡ Thus, on various pretences the Mahrattas, says Duff, “went plundering and burning on the east and on the west, from the Hooghly to the Bunass, and from Madras to Delhi;” while the Europeans, in their profound ignorance of native history, watched with amazement the progress of a people whom they still called His followers assumed the same designation; and from being the commander of a small party of Afghan cavalry, in the service of the deputy-governors of Moradabad, he gradually obtained possession of lands, and encroached by degrees, until the force sent for his expulsion by the imperial viceroy, proved insufficient for the purpose.

‡ It does not appear that any deed for collecting general *chout* over the empire was ever granted by Mohammed Shah: sums of money and convenient assignments were the modes of payment.—(Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, i., 457.)

"the Sevajees," after their great leader, instead of by their own distinctive appellation.

The centre of the diffusive power of the Mahrattas was MAHARASHTRA, the region where their peculiar language was spoken. The whole of this territory had, in 1573, during the reign of Akber, been subject to the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, with the exception of a part of Candeish (which was held as an independent principality by the sultan of Boorhanpoor), of the northern Concan belonging to Guzerat, and the possessions of the Portuguese.* At that period Golconda was the third important Mohammedan state in the Deccan, Beder (the seat of the Bahmani dynasty) and Berar having been annexed to the dominions of their more powerful neighbouring states, which, as we have seen, were themselves in turn extinguished by the encroachments of Sevajee on the one side, and the levelling policy of Aurungzebe on the other. The six Mogul subahs or provinces of THE DECCAN were, in 1741, in so far as the Delhi emperor was concerned, an independent government, under the irresponsible rule of the old nizam, Asuf Jah, who divided the revenues with the Mahrattas; the advantage being, as has been shown, increasingly on their side. The fixed possessions of the Mohammedans, for many centuries after their first invasion of the peninsula, did not extend south of the Kistna; and, indeed, the term of "the Deccan," by writers of this religion, and even by Wilks and other English authorities, is commonly used to denote the countries lying between the Nerbudda and Kistna; the territory below the latter river being distinguished as THE SOUTH OF INDIA. It is with this portion of the continent that we

are more particularly concerned, from its having been the scene of the first struggle for supremacy between European powers. Previous to the battle of Talicot, in 1565, the whole of this territory was, more or less, under the sway of the government of Beejanuggur, or Vijayanuggur; but many districts were held by families who ruled as tributaries or feudatories, with hereditary power. The defeat and slaughter of the brave old Rama Rajah, and the destruction of his capital by the conjoined exertions of the four Mohammedan sovereigns of the Deccan, were not followed by any systematic attempts for the annexation of Beejanuggur by the conquerors to their own dominions, private jealousies and international disputes preventing any permanent arrangement between them regarding the division of the spoil. Venkatadri, the brother of the late rajah, established himself at Penconda, about 140 miles south-east of the former capital, and from thence the seat of government was shortly afterwards transferred to Chandragiri. About the year 1597, a descendant of the ancient *Rajpoots* (as the rajahs of this dynasty were called) ruled with some degree of magnificence at Chandragiri and Vellore, where he still held at least nominal sway over the governors or naiks of Jinjee, Tanjore, Madura, Chennapatam, Seringapatam (Mysoor), and Penconda; and in 1640, the last representative of this ancient house, Sree Ranga Raya, sanctioned the establishment of the English at Chennapatam, or Madras. About six years afterwards, he was driven by the forces of Golconda from his occasional places of residence and nominal capitals at Chandragiri and Chingleput, and compelled to take refuge with the chief

* See pp. 43 and 140. Hindoo writers differ materially as to the extent of Maharashtra, which they designate one of the five principal divisions of the Deccan. According to the *Tutara* (one of the books of the *Jotush Shastra* or *Hindoo Astronomy*), Maharashtra extends no farther than the Chandore range of hills, where Kolwun, Buglana, and Candeish are represented as its northern boundaries; and all beyond those countries is indiscriminately termed *Vendhiadree*. Duff adds, "that the tract between Chandore and Eroor Manjera, on the Kistna, is certainly the most decidedly Mahratta, and in it there is the least variation in the language: but following the rule adverted to in its more extended sense, Maharashtra is that space which is bounded on the north by the Sautpoora [*Vindhya*] mountains, and extends from Naundode, on the west, along those mountains to the Wyne Gunga, east of Nagpoor."—(i., 3.) A waving line from Mahoor to Goa, with the ocean on the westward, form the chief remaining limits. Wilks states, that the Mahratta language

spreads from Beder to the north-west of Canara, and of a line which, passing considerably to the eastward of Dowlatabad, forms an irregular sweep until it touches the Taptee, and follows the course of that river to the western sea, on which the district of Sedashegur, in North Canara, forms its southern limit. In the geographical tables of the Hindoos, the name of Maharashtra—and by contraction, Mahratta dasum (or *country*)—seems to have been more particularly appropriated to the eastern portion of this great region, including Baglana, part of Berar, and Candeish: the western was known by its present name of Concan.—(*Historical Sketches of the South of India*, or *History of Mysoor*, i., 5-6.)

+ 1st. Candeish, capital Burhanpoor. 2nd. Aurungabad, which comprised the territory formerly called the state of Ahmednuggur, governed by the Nizam Shahi dynasty. 3rd. Beejapoor or Viziapoor, the capital of the Adil Shahi dynasty. 4th. Beder. 5th. Berar. 6th. Hyderabad, capital of the Golconda or Kootb Shahi dynasty.

of Bednore or Nuggur (now included in Mysoor.) Sera, Bangalore, and Colar, with the important fortresses of Vellore and Jinjee, were seized by Beejapoor, the ambitious and short-sighted rulers of that kingdom continuing, to their last gasp of power, to endeavour to increase a superstructure already too extensive for its slender and tottering base. Aurungzebe's great political error, in destroying states it was his interest to uphold in dependence upon him, brought both them and him a fitting reward for the ungovernable lust of conquest. It levelled the only barrier to the rapid spread of Hindoo power; and in a short period of years, the supremacy of the Mahratta state was acknowledged, more or less decidedly, over all the south of India; and this, notwithstanding the incongruities of its internal constitution with its capitals of Sattara, where the rajahs lived (kings in name, captives or pageants in reality); and of Poona, where the peishwas (ministers in name, sovereigns in reality) held their now sumptuous courts and exercised sway, checked however materially by the private designs and unsleeping watchfulness of the Dhabaray family, Rugojee Bhonslay, and other noted leaders. With these turbulent chieftains, the peishwas were glad to compromise matters, by suffering them to invade Guzerat, Bengal, and other Mogul provinces on their own account; the authority of the rajah being a convenient pretence, occasionally resorted to in confirmation of such arrangements, and which, strange to say, still carried considerable weight in the minds of the people, it being quite inconsistent with the character of the Brahminical east to govern, except after the fashion of an English "lord-protector" or a French cardinal.

The death of Bajee Rao, the famous antagonist of the nizam, in 1740, has been narrated (p. 169), as also the events which attended the accession to the peishwanship of his son Ballajee Bajee Rao. It is not necessary to enter further into the Mahratta history of this period, save in so far as it is connected with that of the various distinct principalities now fast rising into importance beneath the sway of native rulers or usurping go-

vernors. Under the latter head may be classed TOOLAVA, the region (formerly part of Dravida) distinguished in European maps as the CARNATIC—a tract, says Colonel Wilks, which "by a fatality unexampled in the history of nations, neither is nor ever was known by that name to the people of the province, or of any part of India."* The misnomer originated in the conquest of Toolava by the government of Canara Proper,† not long before the partition of the dominions of that state between the kings of Golconda and Beejapoor. These sovereigns, in dividing a country of whose condition and history they were wholly ignorant, were satisfied with the sweeping designations of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut (above and below the Ghauts)‡—appellations which were transferred with the dominion over the region thus arbitrarily renamed—when all other Mohammedan governments were swallowed up in Mogul supremacy. In 1706, a chief named Sadut Oollah Khan (through the influence of Daud Khan Panni,§ then viceroy of the Deccan), was appointed by the emperor nabob of the Carnatic Bala Ghaut and Payeen Ghaut,|| and he continued to fill that position after the death of his patron and the accession of the nizam. Sadut Oollah is supposed to have fixed the seat of his government at Arcot about the year 1716, no inscription or authority (says Colonel Wilks) having been discovered to prove the previous existence of a capital on that site. He died in 1732, leaving no issue male; but through the precautions taken in behalf of his nephews and adopted sons, Dost Ali and Bâkir Ali, the latter continued to be governor of Vellore, while the former succeeded in establishing himself as nabob of the Carnatic, despite the opposition of the nizam, whose jealous interference prevented his procuring an authentic commission from Delhi. At the period of his accession, the new nabob had two sons; the elder, Sufder Ali, had reached manhood: he had also several daughters, one of whom was married to a distant relative, the afterwards famous Chunda Sahib, who first acquired notoriety by his treacherous acquisition of TRICHINOPOLY. This little

* *History of Mysoor*, i. 8.

† Situated on the western coast of the Indian peninsula, between the Concan and Malabar (formerly named Kerala.)

‡ The great geographical feature of the south of India is a central eminence of 3,000 to 5,000 feet in height, above the level of the sea, separated by abrupt declivities from the low flat countries to the

east and west, which form a belt of small and unequal breadth between the hills and the ocean. This central eminence is usually named the Bala Ghaut; and the lower belt, the Payeen Ghaut—*Ghaut* signifying a mountain pass or break.

§ See page 156.

|| Called also the Carnatic Beejapoor Bala Ghaut, and the Carnatic Hyderabad Payeen Ghaut.

state, like the neighbouring principality of Tanjore, although at times subject to the exactions of the Mohammedan rulers of Beejapoor and Goleonda, had maintained its independence from a remote date. The death of the rajah, in 1736, gave rise to disputes concerning the succession. Minakshi Amman, the reigning queen, upheld the cause of her adopted son against a rival claimant, and was actively supported by Chunda Sahib. Grateful for his assistance, and unsuspecting of any sinister motive, the queen was induced to give her ally free access to the citadel, and he abused her confidence by taking possession of the government in his own right, and imprisoning the ill-fated lady, who soon died of grief. This unworthy conduct excited strong dissatisfaction throughout the neighbouring states. The nabob viewed with alarm the ambitious and unscrupulous temper of his son-in-law, and the nizam was exceedingly annoyed by the growing power of a family, whose members, though disunited among themselves, would, he well knew, at any time coalesce against him as their common foe. The Hindoo princes participated in the jealous feelings of the nizam, and were likewise, it may be supposed, moved with honest indignation at the cruel treatment sustained by their fellow-sovereign. The result was, the invasion of the Carnatic by a Mahratta army under Rugojee Bhonslay, in 1740, and the defeat and death of Dost Ali; followed, in 1741, by the siege of Trichinopoly and the capture of Chunda Sahib, who was carried prisoner to Sattara. Sufder Ali, the new nabob, was assassinated at the instigation of his cousin, Murtezza Ali, the governor of Vellore;* and the murderer, after vainly endeavouring to take advantage of his crime, by establishing himself as ruler of the province, shut himself up in his own citadel.

The nizam having determined on quitting Delhi, arrived at Arcot in 1743. He found that the infant son of Sufder Ali had been proclaimed nabob; and the popular feeling on the subject was so decided, that not caring openly to dispute the hereditary succession tacitly established in the family of Sadut Oollah, the wily politician affected to

* Murtezza Ali is described by Orme as the model of a cruel and suspicious tyrant: he "never moved, not even in his own palace, without being surrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taste anything that was not brought to him in a vessel to which his wife had affixed her seal." He is stated to have procured the assassination of his unsuspecting relative, by the

intend confirming the boy in office so soon as he should arrive at years of discretion. In the interim, he placed two of his own followers in the government. The first of these, Khojeh Abdulla, died in a very short space of time—it was supposed from the effects of poison administered by his successor, Anwar-oo-deen: shortly afterwards, the youthful expectant of the nabobship, who had been very improperly committed by the nizam to the care of this same person, so notoriously unfit for such a charge, was mortally stabbed at a public festival, by a guard of Patan soldiers, under pretence of revenging the non-payment of arrears due to them by the father of their victim. Anwar-oo-deen and Murtezza Ali were suspected of having conspired for the commission of this new crime—an opinion which gained strength by the efforts each of them made to cast the odium wholly on the other. The nizam would not listen to the accusations brought against Anwar-oo-deen by the friends of the unfortunate family of Sadut Oollah, but caused him to be formally installed as nabob of the Carnatic, notwithstanding the opposition of the people of the province, who found in the arbitrary and parsimonious administration of the new governor additional cause to remember the lenient and liberal conduct of their former rulers. It has been necessary to enter thus far into the domestic history of the Carnatic, in elucidation of its condition at the period when this very Anwar-oo-deen became an important personage in Indo-European history. For the same reason, a few words must be said regarding the native state of TANJORE—a relic of the ancient Hindookingdom of Madura—which, owing to domestic dissensions, had fallen into the hands of a Mahratta ruler. The sovereignty became an object of contest to the grandsons of Venkajee, the half-brother of Sevajee. One of these, named Pertab Sing, the son of a concubine, succeeded in gaining possession of it, in 1711, to the exclusion of Syajee, the legitimate heir of the late rajah. Syajee, some years after, sought help from the English.

The Mysoor state, long a dependency of the kingdom of Beejanuggur, was founded under romantic circumstances,† by a youth hand of a Patan officer whom Sufder Ali had deeply injured by the seduction of his wife, and who availed himself of the opportunity of wreaking a deadly revenge by entering the tent of the nabob at midnight, and stabbing him while attempting to escape.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 46—48.)

† Two brothers left the court of Beejanuggur to

of the famous tribe of Yedava, which boasts among its eminent characters, Crishna (the celebrated Indian Apollo), one of the incarnations of Vishnu. The first chieftain or rajah of this family whose date is established, succeeded to power in 1507, and was surnamed Arbiral, or the six-fingered, from the personal trait thus described. A fort was constructed or repaired in 1524, at Mahesh Asoor,* contracted to Mysoor; but it was not till after the battle of Talicot (forty years later), that its petty chieftains began to assume any importance among the princes of the south. In 1610 they acquired possession of Seringapatam, which thenceforth became the seat of government; and from this period their territories increased rapidly, and continued to do so, even after becoming avowedly tributary both to the Mogul emperor and to the Mahratta rajah Shao.

SOUTH CANARA, MALABAR, and TRAVANCORE remain to be noticed, having as yet escaped Mohammedan invasion. In the first of these was situated the country of BEDNORE, under the sway of a family, who from a small establishment at Caladce, in 1499, had gradually extended their limits to the sea-coast of Onore, and southward to the limits of Malabar, over the dominions of the former ranee of Garsopa, the "pepper queen" of Portuguese authors; while, on the north, they successfully opposed the further advance of the forces of Beejapoor along the sea-coast. Sree Ranga Raya, when expelled from his last fortress, Chandragiri, took refuge here; and the Bednore rajah, formerly a servant of his family, availed himself of the pretence of re-establishing the royal house of his liege lord, as a cloak for his own ambitious designs. The district belonging to Sumbajee, the Mahratta chief of KOLAPOOR,

seek their fortunes, and having in the course of their wanderings alighted near the border of a tank, beside the little fort of Hadana, a few miles from the site of the present town of Mysoor, they overheard some women, who had come to fetch water, bewailing the fate of the only daughter of their *wadeyar* (i.e., lord of thirty-three villages), who was about to be given in marriage to a neighbouring chief of inferior cast, as the only means of preserving her family from immediate hostilities, which, owing to the mental derangement of the wadeyar, they were quite unprepared to resist. The young knight-errant offered their services to rescue the afflicted damsel from the impending disgrace; and after slaying the bridegroom and his companions at the marriage feast, marched, at the head of the men of Hadana, upon his territory of Caragully, which having captured, the conquerors returned in triumph to Hadana; and one of them, Vijaya, married the lady, nothing loth, and by the general voice of her people

formed the limits of Bednore on one side; and to the southwards, lay the mountainous principality of Coong, between the coast of Malabar and Mysoor. Malabar itself brings us to the familiar territory of CALICUT, governed by the zamorin or Tamuri rajah, bounded to the southward by COCHIN, on the opposite side of which, at the extreme end of the Peninsula, was the state of TANJORE, once an integral part of Malabar, known in the records of the E. I. Cy. as the country of the queen of Attinga,† by whose permission an English factory was formed at Anjengo, in 1694. Since then Tanjore had become famous in the annals of the Dutch, through the determined opposition of its rajah to their encroachments and oppression.

Besides the states enumerated in the above sketch, there were many others of less note; such for instance as those formed by the rajah of SOONDA and the dessave of CARWAR, (who had taken part with the Portuguese in their late conflict with the Mahrattas); also by the Patan chiefs of KURNOUL, KURPA, and SAVANOR, descendants of governors under the dynasties of Beejapoor and Golconda. The three last-named were closely connected with some of the leading Mahratta chieftains, and had been for some time nearly independent.

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.—Allusion has been made to the commercial crisis which convulsed these nations in 1720, brought on by imprudence and the absence of sound principle on the part of their respective governments. A quarter of a century later we find them exchanging declarations of war; and after being, in the first instance, drawn into the vortex as auxiliaries in the disputed Austrian

was elected wadeyar, first changing his creed from that of a disciple of Vishnu to a *jungum* or *lingwant*—Hindoo terms, which will be hereafter explained.

* Mahesh Asoor, "the buffalo-headed monster," whose overthrow is the most noted exploit of Cali, the consort of Siva. This goddess is still worshipped under the name of Chamoondee (the discomfiter of enemies) on the hill of Mysoor, in a temple famed at one period for human sacrifices. (Wilks' *Mysoor*, i. 34.)

† Hamilton states, that from remote antiquity the male offspring of the *tamburettes*, or princesses of Attinga, had inherited the sovereignty of Travancore, and continued to do so until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the reigning "tamburetty" was prevailed upon to transfer the authority to the male line. The conquests made by the Tanjore ruler, between 1740 and 1755, are attributed to the efficiency of a body of troops disciplined after the European manner by Eustachius de Lanoy, a Flemish officer.—(*East India Gazetteer*, ii., 674.)

succession, becoming themselves fired with the fierce excitement, they continued the contest as principals, on one pretext or another; the actual end desired by either party being the attainment of complete mastery in all points, whether as regarded political ascendancy in Europe, transatlantic dominion, trading monopolies, or maritime power. In this unhallowed rivalry both kingdoms lavished unsparingly life and treasure, deeply injuring each other's resources, and grievously retarding their mutual growth in Christian civilisation and commercial prosperity. Spain, then a great colonial and naval power, sided with France, while England had to withstand their united force, and, at the same time, to bear up against the disturbances connected with the Hanoverian succession, and the long struggle which terminated in the independence of the United States. Sea and land witnessed the strife. In *North America*—at Quebec, Louisberg, and on the Mississippi; in the *West Indies*—at Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the Caribbee Islands; in *Africa*—at Goree and Senegal; in the *Mediterranean* and *Atlantic*—at Minorca and Belleisle; and on the *European continent*, prolonged hostilities were waged: while in India a contest commenced which lasted sixty years, the prize there fought for being nothing less than the establishment of a powerful European dominion in the very heart of Asia. It is not to be supposed that the trading societies who first gained a footing amid the confusion of falling dynasties and usurping chiefs, foresaw from the commencement of the conflict the marvellous results with which their operations were to be attended. With the exception, perhaps, of the brothers Child, none of the officers of the old-established English company had any desire for the acquisition of sovereignty, nor had they the inducement which might have been afforded by an insight into the actual condition of India. The general indifference manifested by the servants of the various European companies towards the attainment of Asiatic languages, long tended to prevent their acquiring this knowledge, even when the course of events plainly demonstrated its importance. Moreover, the English and French associations were both poor, and extremely unwilling to enter upon a costly warfare, respecting the issue of which no reasonable conjecture could be formed. The representatives of the latter body became first inspired with an irrepressible desire to take part in the strife and intrigue by which they were surrounded; and

the connection which subsisted between the government and the French company, enabled La Bourdonnais and Dupleix to obtain, through the influence of Orry the minister, a sanction for their daring adventures, which the partners of a purely mercantile association would, if they could, have withheld. Even had the two states in Europe continued at peace, it was next to impossible that their subjects in India should bear a share in the disputes of neighbouring princes without soon coming to open hostility with each other; and the national declarations of war brought matters to an immediate crisis.

The English were the first to receive reinforcements from home. A squadron of four vessels appeared off the coast of Coromandel, in July, 1745, having previously captured three richly-laden French vessels on their voyage from China. The garrison of Pondicherry contained only 436 Europeans, and the fortifications were incomplete. Dupleix, fearing that the place would be taken before La Bourdonnais could answer his appeal for succour, made earnest representations to the nabob, Anwar-oo-deen, and succeeded in inducing him to interfere for the protection of Pondicherry, by threatening to revenge upon Madras any injury which should be inflicted upon French possessions within the limits of his government. At the same time, the nabob declared his intention of compelling the French, in the event of their acquiring additional strength, to abstain equally from offensive proceedings. Mogul power had not yet lost its prestige: that of England was still to be won; consequently the determined language of the nabob intimidated the Madras presidency, and induced them to prevent the fleet from attacking Pondicherry, and to confine their operations to the sea. In the June of the following year a French squadron arrived in the Indian ocean, under the command of La Bourdonnais, who had equipped the ships with great difficulty at the Mauritius; and when afterwards dismantled by a hurricane, had refitted them at Madagascar. An indecisive action took place between the rival fleets, after which the French commander proceeded to Pondicherry, and there requested a supply of cannon, wherewith to attack Madras. The hearty co-operation of Dupleix and his council was, at this moment, of the highest importance; but jealousy of the renown which would attend the success of the enterprise, induced them to receive the solicitations of their

colleague with haughty and insulting indifference. La Bourdonnais, already severely tried by the miserable unfitness of the greater portion of his crews, consisting of sailors for the first time at sea, and soldiers who needed instruction how to fire a musket—their inefficiency increased by sickness, by which he was himself almost prostrated—had now to struggle against the aggravating tone adopted towards him by those to whom he looked for aid and sympathy. Under these circumstances, he behaved with singular discretion and forbearance, and having at length obtained a scanty reinforcement of guns, set sail for Madras, against which place he commenced operations on the 3rd of September, 1746.*

The fortifications of the city had been neglected, owing to the financial embarrassment of the E. I. Cy. There was little ammunition in store, and the soldiers were few, and of a very indifferent description. The total number of Europeans in the settlement did not exceed 300, and of these about two-thirds were included in the garrison. As might be expected, no very determined resistance was offered. The town was bombarded for several days, and four or five of the inhabitants were killed by the explosion of shells, after which a capitulation was agreed upon, by virtue of which the assailants entered Madras as victors, without the loss of a single man, but on the express condition that the settlement should be restored on easy and honourable terms. This arrangement was in strict accordance with the instructions laid down by the French directors, who expressly forbade the extension of territory until their existing settlements should be more firmly established, and ordered their servants, in the event of capturing the possessions of any foreign foe, to abide by the alternative of destruction or a ransom. The very day of the surrender of Madras, a messenger, dis-

patched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry with a letter from Anwar-oo-deen, expressing his great surprise at the conduct of the French in attacking Madras, and threatening to send an army there if the siege were not immediately raised. Dupleix returned a deceitful answer, promising that the town, if taken, should be surrendered to the nabob, with liberty to make favourable terms with the English for the restitution of so valuable a possession. Meanwhile, La Bourdonnais, relying on his own commission, proceeded to arrange the treaty of surrender without regard to the remonstrances or threats of Dupleix, who, notwithstanding the recent assurance given by him to the nabob, now insisted that Madras should be either retained as a French settlement, or razed to the ground. Three men-of-war arrived at this period at Pondicherry; and, thus increased, says Orme, the French force "was sufficient to have conquered the rest of the British settlements in Hindoostan."† La Bourdonnais had resolved on making the attempt, but his plans were contravened by Dupleix; and after much time having been wasted in disputes regarding the evacuation of Madras, a storm came on which materially injured the fleet, and compelled its brave commander to return in haste, before the change of the monsoon, to his own government at the Mauritius,‡ without staying to complete the shipment of the seized goods, which was to be followed by the restoration of the town. The machinations of Dupleix had thus succeeded in thwarting the views he ought to have promoted, and at the same time in acquiring an important addition of 1,200 trained men, left behind in consequence of the damage done to the squadron by the late tempest: accessions of strength were also received from other quarters, which raised the number of European troops at Pondicherry, in all, to about 3,000 men.

* The forces destined for the siege comprised about 1,100 Europeans, 400 sepoys, and 400 Madagascar blacks; 1,700 or 1,800 European mariners remained to guard the ships.—(Orme, i., 67.)

† *Military Transactions*, i., 73.

‡ From thence La Bourdonnais returned to France to vindicate himself from the complaints preferred by the family of Dupleix, some of whom being intimately connected with the E. I. Cy., had warmly espoused the quarrel of their relative against his more worthy adversary. He took his passage in a ship belonging to Holland, which, in consequence of the declaration of war, was forced into an English harbour. The distinguished passenger was recognised; but his conduct at Madras procured him an honour-

able reception; and the proposition of an East India director to become surety for him in person and property, was declined by government, on the ground that the word of La Bourdonnais was alone sufficient. This circumstance may have served to soothe the bitter trials which awaited his arrival in France. He was thrown into the Bastille, and remained in that terrible state prison for three years; at the expiration of which time his published vindication, supported by authentic documents, manifested not only the injustice of the charges brought against him, but also the ardour and ability of his services. Though liberated, he appears to have obtained no redress, and did not long survive his acquittal, which took place when he was about fifty-three years of age.

These additions were needed to combat the force dispatched by Anwar-oo-deen for the recapture of Madras, so soon as he perceived the hollowness of the professions by which he had been induced to violate his pledge to the English, of compelling the French to abstain from hostile proceedings throughout the Carnatic.

An army, commanded by the son of the nabob, invested Madras, and made some clumsy attempts to imitate the proceedings which had proved successful in the previous instance. The French encountered them with a greatly inferior numerical force; but the skilful and rapid management of their artillery, abundantly compensated for this disproportion, and enabled them to acquire a decisive victory. The event is memorable, as marking the commencement of a new phase of Indian history. The triumphs of the Portuguese were, for the most part, two centuries old: of late years Europeans had bowed submissively before the footstool of Mogul arrogance; and the single attempt of the English (in 1686) to obtain independent power, had only reduced them to a yet more humiliating position. The utter inability of unwieldy and ill-disciplined masses to contend with compact bodies of well-trained troops, was a fact which the French had again brought to light, together with another of equal importance—namely, the facility with which natives might be cajoled among the regular troops, and the reliance to be placed upon them. Already there were four or five disciplined companies at Pondicherry; but the English had not yet adopted a similar procedure. Dupleix followed up the defeat of the nabob's force, by declaring the treaty with the English annulled, and giving orders for the seizure of every article of property belonging to the unfortunate inhabitants, excepting their personal clothes, the movables of their houses, and the jewels of the women—commands which were executed with avaricious exactness. The governor and leading persons were carried prisoners to Pondicherry, and there exhibited before the native public in a species of triumph.

Fort St. David, twelve miles south of Pondicherry, next became an object of ambition, and a body of 1,700 men, mostly Europeans, was dispatched for the attack of its garrison, which, including refugees from Madras, comprehended no more than 200 Europeans and 100 Topasses. The unexpected advance of a large force, sent by

Anwar-oo-deen to the relief of the fort, took the French by surprise while resting from a fatiguing march, and exulting in the prospect of an easy prey. They retreated at once, with the loss of twelve Europeans killed and 120 wounded. An attempt was next made upon the native town of Cuddalore, which was situated about a mile from Fort St. David, and inhabited by the principal Indian merchants, and by many natives in the employment of the company. Five hundred men were embarked in boats, with orders to enter the river and attack the open quarter of the town at daybreak. But on this, as in the case of the fleet of La Bourdonnais, the turbulence of the elements preserved the English from the assault of their foes: the wind rose, and the raging surf forbade the prosecution of the hostile enterprise.

Dupleix, finding that he could not expect to cope successfully with the united strength of the nabob and the English, directed all his powers of intrigue and cajolery to break off their alliance; and at length succeeded, by exaggerated representations of the accessions of force received and expected by the French, in inducing the vacillating nabob to forsake the garrison of Fort St. David, who were described as a contemptible handful of men, abandoned even by their own countrymen to destruction. The falsity of this last assertion was proved at a critical moment; for just as a French force had succeeded in overcoming the resistance offered to their crossing the river, and were marching on the apparently devoted town, an English fleet was seen approaching the roadstead, upon which the assailants hastily recrossed the river and returned to Pondicherry.

In January, 1748, Major Lawrence arrived in India with authority over the whole of the company's forces. In the following year, the addition of a squadron dispatched under the command of Admiral Boscawen,* rendered their fleet more formidable than any previously assembled by a single European power in India. Dupleix trembled; the nabob would, he feared, again change sides, so soon as the superior strength of the enemy should be manifest, and the French settlements be cut off from supplies both by sea and land. The English, on their part, hurried on the operations of

* Consisting of ten ships of the royal navy, and eleven belonging to the company, carrying stores, and troops to the amount of 1,400 men.

Boscawen, nothing doubting by the capture of Pondicherry, to retaliate the heavy sacrifice attendant on the loss of Madras.* Their expectations were disappointed. Major Lawrence was taken prisoner during the assault of the little fort of Ariancopang, two miles to the south-west of Pondicherry; and when, after much valuable time spent in acquiring and occupying this position, the admiral advanced upon the city, ignorance of the locality, disease in the camp, and probably also the unfitness of the brave and active sea-captain to direct the complicated proceedings of a land attack, resulted in the raising of the siege by the fiat of a council of war, assembled thirty-one days after the opening of the trenches. The rejoicings of Dupleix at this unlooked-for triumph, were, as might be expected, boastful in the extreme. He sent letters to the different neighbouring rulers, and even to the Great Mogul himself, informing them of the formidable assault which he had repulsed, and received in return high compliments on his prowess and on the military genius of his nation, which was now generally regarded as far superior to that of the English. His schemes were, however, contravened by a clause in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which the French government agreed to restore Madras; and this stipulation was enforced, notwithstanding the expense incurred by him in strengthening a possession obtained by a glaring breach of faith. On reoccupying their ancient settlement, the English likewise established themselves at St. Thomas, or Meliapoor, a town mostly inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Christians, whom the imperious Portuguese archbishop and viceroy Menezes had, with the aid of "the Holy Inquisition," brought into compulsory submission to the Romish pontiff. Since then it had sunk into obscurity, and would hardly have excited the notice of any European power, had not its position with regard to Madras, from which it was but four miles distant, enabled the ever-intriguing Dupleix to gain from the Romish priests much important information regarding the state of that settlement. St. Thomas was therefore occupied by the English, and the obnoxious portion of the inhabitants ordered to withdraw.

While these events were taking place in the Madras presidency, that of Bombay,

* That event entailed a loss of £180,000 on the company.—(Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 48.)

† Mill's *British India*, iii., 83, (edited by Wilson.)

‡ At Surat, for instance, in addition to the fixed

and the inferior but independent one of Calcutta, enjoyed tranquillity. Ali Verdi Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, had consistently maintained the determination at first expressed by Anwar-oo-deen, in the Carnatic, of compelling the hostile nations to keep the peace in his dominions. At the same time he exacted from both parties contributions, in return for the protection which he bestowed. The sums demanded from the English are stated† as not exceeding £100,000, which, considering the heavy expenses incurred in repelling Mahratta inroads, cannot be deemed immoderate.

The restoration of peace between their respective governments left the servants of the rival companies in India no pretence for continuing hostilities on any national ground. But extensive military preparations had been made; nothing but a *casus belli* was wanting; and it was not to be supposed that the commanders of considerable bodies of troops, who, having been levied, must be paid and fed, would willingly keep them in idleness for so slight a reason. The quarrels of neighbouring states afforded a ready pretext for armed interference, and offered to both French and English the immediate advantage of remunerative employment for spare force, together with the prospect of establishing a degree of independent, if not paramount authority, which might enable the factories to withhold the large sums it had been heretofore found necessary to pay to local officials, in order to secure the enjoyment of the privileges conceded by imperial firmans.‡ Neither party showed much anxiety about the character or claims of the candidates under whose banners they took post, the scarcely disguised motive being—how best to serve themselves and weaken their rivals. Indeed, at this period, power in the Deccan had so greatly fallen into the hands of usurpers, that had the Europeans really desired to support no pretensions save such as were strictly legitimate, they must have commenced by setting aside almost the whole of the claimants who now pressed upon their notice. But this admission cannot exculpate the English from the heavy charge of indiscretion and venality—in first unsheathing the sword against a sovereign with whom they had long carried on a friendly correspondence, and then suffering custom dues of 3½ per cent., no less a sum than 1,365,450 rupees are stated, in the records of the E. I. Company, as having been paid from 1661 to 1683, simply to facilitate business.

ing themselves to be bought off from the cause they had unsuccessfully advocated. The case was simply this: Syajee, the ex-rajah of Tanjore (*see* p. 252), craved their assistance to regain the throne from which he had been driven by his half-brother, Pertab Sing. He declared that the people were well-affected towards him, and promised, in the event of success, to bestow upon the English the territory of Devicotta—a position rendered valuable by its proximity to the mouth of the river Coleroon, which was considered to offer advantages, as a harbour, beyond any other situation between Masulipatam and Cape Comorin. His solicitations produced two attempts for the invasion of Tanjore. The first by Captain Cope, undertaken with a view to the re-establishment of Syajee, proved a complete failure. The second, led by Major Lawrence, succeeded in the object for which it was expressly designed—the capture of Devicotta—owing, under Providence, to the ingenuity and dauntless bravery of a common ship's carpenter* and—Lieutenant Robert Clive. This name, destined to stand first in a long line of Anglo-Indian conquerors, was then borne by a young man whose previous career afforded small promise of usefulness, though fraught with evidences of misdirected energy.

Some twelve years before the siege of Devicotta, the inhabitants of Market-Drayton, Shropshire, had viewed with terror the exploits of the audacious son of a neighbouring squire.† On one occasion they beheld the daring boy climb the lofty church steeple, and quietly take his seat on a projecting stone spout near the summit, fashioned in the form of a dragon's head, from whence he desired to obtain a smooth stone, for the pleasure of flinging it to the ground. At home the youth was noted for an immoderate love of fighting, and for a fierce and imperious temper; out of doors he displayed the same propensities by forming the idle lads of the town into a predatory army, and extorting a tribute of pence and trifling articles from the shopkeepers, guaranteeing them, in return, from broken

windows and the effects of other mischievous tricks. The character of an exceedingly naughty boy accompanied Bob Clive from school to school, including the celebrated London seminary of the Merchant Taylor's Company. One of his early masters, it is said, had the sagacity to prophesy that the self-willed, iron-nerved child would, if he lived to be a man, and had opportunity to exert his talents, make a great figure in the world; but this was an exception to the general opinion formed of his slender parts and headstrong temper; and his family, seeing no good prospect for him at home, procured for the lad, when in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the E. I. Company, and "shipped him off, to make a fortune or to die of a fever."‡

For some time after the arrival of Clive at Madras, the former alternative appeared highly improbable. The ship in which he sailed was detained for nine months at the Brazils, and the young writer expended all his ready-money, but picked up, in return, a knowledge of the Portuguese language, which proved useful to him in after-life. The salaries of the junior servants were then barely sufficient for their maintenance. Clive, who it may be readily imagined was no economist, soon became involved in debt; and this circumstance, combined with his isolated position and uncongenial employment (in superintending the taking of stock, making advances to weavers, shipping cargoes, and guarding the monopoly of his employers against the encroachments of private traders), aggravated by the depressing influence of a tropical climate, so affected a mind unsupported by religious principle, that the rash youth, in one of the wayward, moody fits to which he was all his life subject, made an ineffectual attempt at self-destruction. A fellow-clerk entered his room (in Writers'-buildings) immediately after, and was requested to take up a pistol which lay at hand, and fire it out of the window. He did so; and Clive sprang up, exclaiming—"Well, I am reserved for something; that pistol I have

* The fort of Devicotta was situated on a marshy shore covered with wood, and surrounded by the Tanjore army. The English batteries were erected on the opposite side of the river, and after three days' firing a breach was effected; but before advantage could be taken of it, a broad and rapid stream had to be crossed in the face of the enemy. This was done by means of a raft, sufficient to contain 400 men, constructed by the carpenter, John Moore. The last difficulty—how to get the raft

across—he removed by swimming the stream by night and fastening a rope to a tree, unperceived by the foe, whose attention was diverted from the spot by the well-directed manœuvres of the artillery. The troops were disembarked on the opposite bank.

† A landed proprietor, who practised the law, and resided on a small estate which had been enjoyed by his family since the twelfth century.

‡ T. B. Macanlay's brilliant critique on Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*.—(*Critical and Historical Essays*.)

twice snapped at my own head." * He was reserved for many things which the world calls great and glorious, and even (by a strange perversion of the term) heroic; but his earthly career was not the less destined to terminate by the very act which he had once been specially held back from accomplishing. That act even worldlings brand with the name of moral cowardice; while believers in revealed religion view it as the last and deepest offence man can commit against his Maker. In the case of Clive, such a termination of life was rendered peculiarly remarkable by his previous frequent and extraordinary escapes from perishing by violence.

On the capture of Madras, in 1746, he, with others, gave his parole on becoming a prisoner of war, not to attempt escape; but the breach of faith committed by Dupleix was considered by many of the captives to justify their infraction of the pledge given to M. de la Bourdonnais; and Clive fled by night to Fort St. David, disguised in dress and complexion as a Mussulman. Continued hostilities afforded him an opportunity of quitting the store-room for the camp; and Major Lawrence, perceiving the military ability of the young aspirant, gave him an ensign's commission, which, after the unsuccessful attack of Pondicherry, in 1748, was exchanged for that of a lieutenant. At Devicotta he was, at his own solicitation, suffered to lead a storming party, consisting of a platoon of thirty-four Europeans and a body of sepoys. Of the Europeans only four survived; but the determination of their leader, and the orderly advance of the sepoys, checked the opposition of the Tanjore horse, and gave the signal for the advance of Major Lawrence with his whole strength, which was speedily followed by the capture of the fort.

A treaty of peace was soon entered into with the rajah, Pertab Sing, by which the English were guaranteed in the possession of Devicotta, with a territory of the annual value of 9,000 pagodas, on condition of their renouncing the cause of Syajee, and guaranteeing to secure his person so as to

prevent any further attempts on the throne of his brother—a service for which 4,000 rupees, or about £400, were to be paid annually. The English had been completely misled by the statements of Syajee respecting his prospects of success; but still, this treatment of a person whom they had been endeavouring to re-establish as a legitimate ruler, was highly discreditable. It is even said, that the unfortunate prince would have been delivered into the hands of his enemies, but for the lively remonstrances of Admiral Boscawen. As it was, he found means to make his escape, though not to recover his throne.

In the meantime the French were engaged in transactions of more importance. They had far higher objects in view than any yet aimed at by the English, and their plans were more deeply laid. Dupleix, by means of his wife,† had obtained considerable acquaintance with the intrigues of various Mussulman and Hindoo princes; and this knowledge had afforded him material assistance on more than one occasion. The disturbed state of the Carnatic now offered a favourable opening for his ambition. The protracted life of the old nizam was fast approaching its termination; and the nominal viceroyalty, but actual sovereignty, of the Mogul provinces in the Deccan would, it was easy to foresee, speedily become an object of contest to his five sons. The cause of Anwar-oo-deen, himself almost a centenarian, would not therefore be likely to meet with efficient support from his legitimate superiors; while among the people a very strong desire existed for the restoration of the family of Sadut Oollah. The natural heir was the remaining son of Suffder Ali, but his tender age forbade the idea of placing him at the head of a confederacy which needed a skilful and determined leader. Murtezza Ali (governor of Vellore), though wealthy and powerful, was deemed too treacherous and too cowardly to be trusted. The only relative possessed of sufficient reputation, as a general, to direct an attempt for the subversion of the power of Anwar-oo-deen, was Chunda Sahib. The utter absence of principle manifested

* Sir John Malcolm states, that in 1749, three years after this event, Clive had a severe attack of nervous fever, which rendered necessary "the constant presence of an attendant;" and he adds, that even after his recovery, "the oppression on his spirits frequently returned."—(*Memoirs*, i., pp. 69-70.)

† Madame Dupleix is described in the *Life of Clive* as a creole, born and educated in Bengal; but her parentage is not stated. The Christian name

Jeanne, she converted into the Persian appellation of Jân Begum (the *princess Jeanne*.) Her intimate acquaintance with the native languages, joined to a talent for intrigue little inferior to that of Dupleix himself, enabled her to establish a very efficient system of "espionage." At the time of the French capture of Madras, and the attempts on Fort St. David by the English, the Indian interpreter was found to have carried on a regular correspondence

in his seizure of Trichinopoly,* did not prevent him from being "esteemed the ablest soldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic,"† uniting in every military enterprise, "the spirit of a volunteer with the liberality of a prince."‡ On him Dupleix had early fixed his eyes as a fit coadjutor; and throughout his protracted imprisonment at Sattara, had contrived to keep up an intimate connexion with him, through the medium of his wife and family, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry—Madame Dupleix acting as interpreter; and at the same time corresponding, in the name of her husband, with various chiefs likely to prove useful in the coming struggle. At length all things seemed ripe for the enterprise. Through the intervention of Dupleix, the release of Chunda Sahib was effected in the early part of the year 1748, by means of a ransom of seven lacs of rupees (£70,000.) The nizam died shortly after; and notwithstanding the prior claims of his numerous sons, another competitor for the succession arose in the person of a grandson, the child of a favourite daughter. With the young adventurer (generally known by his title of Moozuffer Jung),§ Chunda Sahib hastened to form an alliance, and induced him to commence operations in the Carnatic. Dupleix assisted the confederates with a body of 100 Europeans, 100 Kafir, and 1,800 sepoys; and French valour and discipline mainly contributed to bring the storming of Amboor (a fort fifty miles west of Arcot) to a successful issue. Anwar-oo-deen was slain at the extraordinary age of 107 lunar years; his eldest son taken prisoner; and his second son, Mohammed Ali, with the wreck of the army, escaped to Trichinopoly, of which place he was governor. The victorious leaders marched in triumph to Arcot, and then to Pondicherry, from whence (after increasing the limits and revenues of that settlement by the grant of eighty-one villages) they proceeded against Tanjore. It would have been unquestionably better policy to have advanced at once upon Trichinopoly;

but supplies of money were urgently needed, and the known wealth of the rajah of Tanjore would, it was believed, compensate for the delay. The Tanjorine proved more than a match for his enemies in cunning, though inferior to them in force. Although at length compelled to pay a certain sum, claimed as arrears of tribute to the Mogul empire, and likewise in compensation for the expenses incurred in attacking him, the rajah continued to procrastinate in every possible manner,—one day sending, as part of the stipulated contribution, old and obsolete coins, such as he knew required long and tedious examination; another time, jewels and precious stones, the value of which it was still more difficult to determine. Chunda Sahib saw the drift of these artifices; but the want of funds induced him to bear with them until the end of the year (1749) arrived, and with it intelligence of the approach of a considerable army under the command of Nazir Jung,|| the second son of the late nizam.

The allies, struck with consternation, precipitately retreated to Pondicherry, harassed by a body of Mahrattas. Dupleix exerted all his energies to reanimate their spirits; lent them £50,000, and increased the French contingent to 2,000 Europeans; but, doubting greatly the ultimate success of the cause which he had so sedulously promoted, he sought to be prepared for any turn of circumstances, by opening a secret communication with Nazir Jung. In this treacherous attempt he failed, the prince having previously formed an alliance with the English.¶

On hearing of the defeat and death of Anwar-oo-deen, Nazir Jung had marched towards the Carnatic, where he was speedily joined by Mohammed Ali, son of the late nabob, and at the same time he sent to ask assistance from the English at Fort St. David. They were already filled with alarm at the part taken by the French in the recent hostilities, but possessed no authority from the Court of Directors to engage anew in the perils and expenses of any military undertaking. The result of

with Madame Dupleix in the Malabar tongue. He and a Hindoo accomplice were tried, found guilty, and hanged.—(Malcolm's *Clice*, i., 21; Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 88.)

* See p. 252. In addition to the facts already stated, it may be noticed, as enhancing the perfidy of Chunda Sahib, that one means adopted by him to set aside any misgivings on the part of the ranee of Trichinopoly, was by swearing that his troops, if secretly admitted within the citadel, should be employed solely for the confirmation of her authority.

This false oath he took on a false Koran—that is, on a brick enveloped in one of the splendid coverings used by Mohammedans to wrap round the volume they revere as divinely inspired.—(Colonel Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.)

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 119.

‡ Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 250.

§ *Victorious in War.* || *Triumphant in War.*

¶ *Vide* "Vindication," entitled *Mémoire pour Dupleix*; also *Mémoire contre Dupleix*, published by the directory of the Fr. E. I. Cy.; quoted by Mill, iii., 105.

the Tanjore enterprise was not encouraging; the attempt to reinstate Syajee had proved a complete failure; and Pertab Sing, by the cession of Devicotta, had bought them off, as he might have done a body of Mahrattas, —not so much from fear of their power, as because he expected a more dangerous assault on the side of Chunda Sahib and the French. It was evidently no honest desire for peace which dictated the miserable half measures adopted by the Madras presidency. Although Admiral Boscawen offered to remain if his presence should be formally demanded, he was suffered to depart with the fleet and troops. A force of 120 Europeans was sent to Mohammed Ali; and the report of the powerful army and extensive resources* of Nazir Jung induced them to send Major Lawrence, with 600 Europeans, to fight under so promising a standard. The rival armies, with their respective European allies, approached within skirmishing distance of one another, and an engagement seemed close at hand, when thirteen French officers, discontented with the remuneration they had received for the attack on Tanjore, threw up their commissions; and M. d'Anteuil, panic-struck by this mutinous conduct, retreated, with the remainder of the troops under his command, to Pondicherry, accompanied by Chunda Sahib, while Moozuffer Jung,† having received the most solemn assurances of good treatment, threw himself upon the mercy of his uncle, by whom he was immediately placed in irons.

Nazir Jung, relieved from immediate peril, took no thought for the future; but at once resigned his whole time to the pleasures of the harem and the chase. The only

* Nazir Jung was at Boorhanpoor, in command of the army, at the time of the death of his father: this circumstance favoured his attempt at becoming subahdar of the Deccan, to the exclusion of his eldest brother, Ghazi-oo-deen, who, he asserted, had freely resigned his pretensions, being satisfied with the important position he held in the court of Delhi—a statement which was wholly false. Ghazi-oo-deen was by no means inclined to make any such renunciation, and had in justice nothing to renounce, the government of the southern provinces being still, at least in form, an appointment in the gift of the emperor. Mohammed Ali's claim to the government of the Carnatic (urged, in the first instance, to the exclusion of his elder brother, the only legitimate son of Anwar-oo-deen) was based on the bare grounds that Nizam-ool-Moolk had promised, and Nazir Jung would confirm to him the possession of a patrimony which had been in his family just five years. This was the "rightful cause" maintained by English valour in the field, and contended for, in many volumes of political controversy, during a prolonged paper warfare. The French, on their part, upheld

rival he feared (Ghazi-oo-deen) was fully employed in the intrigues of the Delhi court; the other three brothers were held in close confinement at Arcot; and the indolent prince, in the haughtiness of imaginary security, treated with disdain the claims of those who had joined him in the hour of danger. The experience of past time might have borne witness that Mogul rulers had seldom offended their turbulent Patan followers with impunity; yet Nazir Jung now behaved towards his father's old officers (the nabobs of Kudapa, Kurnoul, and Savanoor) as if they had been mere feudatories, who as a matter of course had rallied around his standard, instead of what they undoubtedly were—adventurers who had hazarded their lives for the chance of bettering their fortunes. The expectations of the English were equally disappointed by the refusal of a tract of territory near Madras, the promised reward of their assistance; and Major Lawrence quitted the camp in disgust. Dupleix and Chunda Sahib soon learned the state of affairs, and hastened to take advantage of it both by force and stratagem. Masulipatam and the pagoda of Trivadi (fifteen miles west of Fort St. David) were captured; the fort of Jinjee, deemed almost inaccessible, was attacked by the famous French commander Bussy, and the huge insulated rock on which it stands, stormed to the very summit. The boldness of the attempt, and especially its being commenced at midnight, seems to have paralysed the energies of its superstitious defenders; and even the victors, in contemplating the natural strength of the place, were astonished at their success. Nazir Jung alarmed, entered

with all the zeal of self-interest, both with the sword and the pen, the claims of the rival candidates. The pretensions of Moozuffer Jung rested on the will of his grandfather, which his adversaries declared to be a forgery; but if a veritable document, it was unlawful as regarded the emperor, and unjust in setting aside the natural heirs. The sole plea urged by Chunda Sahib, was the will of Moozuffer Jung that he should be nabob. The fact was, neither English nor French had any justification for interference in hostilities which were mere trials of strength among bands of Mohammedan usurpers; and the subsequent conduct of both parties in setting up pageants, because it was inexpedient for them to appear as principals, is nothing more than an additional proof that politicians, as a class, agree everywhere in receiving diplomacy and duplicity as convertible terms, maintaining, however, as much as possible, the semblance of honesty in deference to the feeling which our Creator seems to have implanted in the mind of almost every community—that the public safety is intimately connected with the integrity of those who bear rule.

† This name is sometimes mis-spelt Mirzapha.

into negotiations with Dupleix. The French deputies used their admission to his camp as a means of treacherously intriguing with the disaffected nobles. Major Lawrence heard of the conspiracy, and endeavoured to convey a warning to the subahdar at a public audience; but the interpreter employed dared not venture a declaration which might cost him his life, and the important information was withheld from fear of the vizier, who was falsely reported to be involved in the plot. The etiquette which prevented any direct communication with the subahdar, either verbally or by writing, is given as a sufficient reason for no determined effort to that effect having been made.* Nazir Jung continued, to the last moment, utterly unsuspecting of danger. He ratified the treaty with the French, and sent it to Pondicherry. They advanced against him from Jinjee the very next day; and the prince, while manfully striving to animate his troops to repel what he termed "the mad attempt of a parcel of drunken Europeans,"† was shot through the heart by the nabob of Kudapa. The army learned the fate of their late ruler by the sight of his head fixed on a pole, and were with little difficulty induced to transfer their services to his nephew Moozuffer Jung, who now, released from captivity, became the gaoler of his three uncles. Dupleix was appointed governor of the Mogul possessions on the coast of Coromandel, from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin,‡ and Chunda Sahib his deputy at Arcet. The installation of the subahdar was performed at Pondicherry with much pomp. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. Dupleix, dressed in the garb of a Mussulman of the highest rank, entered the city in the same palanquin with Moozuffer Jung; and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of every other noble. The rank of a munsubdar of 7,000 horse was conferred upon him, with permission to bear on his banners the insignia of "the fish"§—a distinction among the Moguls equivalent to the coveted "blue ribbon" of the English court. Honours and emoluments could be obtained only by his intervention: the new ruler would

not even peruse a petition, unless indorsed by the hand of Dupleix.

The triumph of the ambitious Frenchman, though brilliant, was soon disturbed. The chiefs, by whose perfidy the revolution had been accomplished, demanded the fulfilment of the extravagant promises made to them while the prince, now on the throne, lay bound in fetters. Dupleix endeavoured to bring about an arrangement; and, as an incitement to moderation, affected to relinquish all claim to share in the treasure seized upon the assassination of Nazir Jung, notwithstanding which he received no less than £200,000 in money, besides many valuable jewels.|| The offers made to the turbulent nobles were, however, so very large, that if (as would appear) really accepted and carried out, it is difficult to account for the rapidity with which they again broke forth into open revolt.¶ After lulling all suspicions by a semblance of contentment, accompanied by oaths of allegiance sworn on the Koran, the chiefs watched their opportunity; and, during the march of the army to Goleonda, suddenly took possession of an important pass, and, supported by their numerous followers, opposed the advancing force. The steady fire of the French artillery soon cleared the way; but Moozuffer Jung, furious at finding himself menaced with the fate of his uncle, by the same double-dyed traitors, rushed upon the peril he had nearly escaped, by distancing his attendants in a reckless pursuit of the fugitive nabob of Kurnoul, whom he overtook and challenged to single combat. The elephants were driven close to each other; and the sword of Moozuffer Jung was uplifted to strike, when the javelin of his opponent pierced his brain. A moment later, and the victor was surrounded and cut to pieces: one of his fellow-conspirators had already perished in a similar manner; the third quitted the field mortally wounded.

What were the French to do now for a puppet adapted by circumstances for the part of subahdar? No time could be spared for deliberation: a few hours, and the heterogeneous multitudes of which Indian armies consist, would, under their respective leaders,

* Major Lawrence perhaps disbelieved the report, otherwise his conduct was supine and neglectful.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 156.

‡ Masulipatam and its dependencies were ceded to the French E. I. Co., with other territories, valued by them at £38,000 per ann., but, according to Orme, the revenues were considerably overstated.

§ The *Mahi*, or figure of a fish four feet long, in copper-gilt, carried on the point of a spear.

|| Moozuffer Jung distributed £50,000 among the officers and men engaged at Jinjee, and paid an equal sum into the treasury of the French company, in compensation for the expenses of the war.

¶ Orme asserts, that besides various minor concessions, the Patan nobles were promised by Dupleix one-half the money found in the treasury of Nazir Jung, which, in a subsequent page, is stated at two million sterling.—(*Military Transactions*, i., 160-2.)

after dividing the spoil of their late master, disperse in search of a new paymaster; and, with them, would vanish the advantages gained by the murder of Nazir Jung. Bussy, the commander-in-chief, was no less bold and ready-witted than the absent Dupleix, and his unhesitating decision exactly met the circumstances of the case. The three uncles of the newly-deceased subahdar were in the camp, having been carried about as prisoners in the train of their nephew, lest some conspiracy should be formed in their favour if separated from his immediate superintendence. In other words, it was convenient to keep within reach all persons whose dangerous consanguinity to the reigning prince might incite an attempt for the transfer of the crown; such an endeavour being best frustrated by cutting off the head for which the perilous distinction was designed. Moolzuffer Jung left an infant son, whose claims on the gratitude of the French were afterwards recognised by Bussy,* though he set aside the title of the boy to sovereignty, and releasing the captive princes, proclaimed the eldest, Salabut Jung, viceroy of the Deccan. The army acquiesced in the arrangement, and proceeded quietly on the road to Golconda. Dupleix, on learning the late events, addressed the warmest congratulations to Salabut Jung, who, besides confirming the cessions of his predecessor, bestowed additional advantages on his new friends.

The English watched with amazement the progress of the French, but without any efforts at counteraction. From some unexplained cause, Major Lawrence, the commander of the troops, on whose character and experience the strongest reliance was placed in all military affairs, returned to England at the very time his services were most likely to be needed. The Madras presidency desired peace at almost any sacrifice, and united with Mohammed Ali in offering to acknowledge Chunda Sahib nabob of all the Carnatic, except Trichinopoly and its dependencies. The French, borne on the tide of victory, rejected these overtures; and the English, stung by the contemptuous tone adopted towards them, combined with Mohammed Ali to oppose their united foes. The opening of the campaign was not merely unfortunate, it was (in the words of Major Lawrence) disgraceful: "a fatal spirit of

division" prevailed among the officers, and the Europeans fled before the force of Chunda Sahib, near the fort of Volconda, while the native troops maintained the conflict. Driven from one position to another, the English and their allies at length sought shelter beneath the walls of Trichinopoly. The enemy followed them without delay, and took post on the opposite side of the town, from whence they made some ineffectual attempts for the reduction of the place.

The French had now reached the culminating point of their power in India: the English, their lowest state of depression; yet the latter were soon to ascend an eminence, to which the position attained by their rivals seemed but as a stepping-stone. The young adventurer already noticed, was selected by Providence as one of the chief instruments in the commencement of this mighty change. In the interval of peace just ended, Clive had been appointed by his steady friend, Major Lawrence, commissary to the troops, with the rank of captain. He was now five-and-twenty, in the full strength and vigour of early manhood. The present emergency called forth all his powers; and, by earnestly representing the necessity of some daring attempt to relieve Trichinopoly, he succeeded in gaining the consent of the Madras presidency to attack Arcot, as a probable means of recalling Chunda Sahib to his own capital. A little force, consisting of eight officers (four of whom were factors turned soldiers, like "special constables" for the occasion), 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, sallied forth under the leadership of Clive. The issue of this daring enterprise was awaited by the English with intense anxiety. It was no ordinary detachment, sent forth at slight hazard to effect a diversion: the men by whom it was undertaken were (at least in a military point of view) the life-blood of Fort St. David and Madras: in the event of their being cut off, these settlements would be left, the one with only 100, the other with less than fifty defenders, against the overwhelming strength of the Indo-French potentate Dupleix, and his satellites. On two previous occasions a fierce and sudden tempest had been the destined means of preserving the English from the hands of their foes. The fleet, assembled by the unflagging zeal of La Bourdonnais, shattered and dispersed when bearing down, in the pride of power, on the Coromandel coast; the stealthy, midnight assault of Dupleix on Cuddalore arrested by the rising surf;—these dis-

* The stronghold of Adoni, with its dependencies, which had been the original jaghire of the father, were given to the son, with the addition of the territories formerly possessed by the treacherous nabobs of Kurnoul and Kudapa.—(Orme, i., 249.)

pensations were now to be crowned by a third, yet more remarkable in its consequences.

When Clive and his companions had advanced within about ten miles of Arcot, a violent storm came on, through which they continued their march with the habitual bravery of European troops. The native garrison, accustomed to regard with superstitious terror the turmoil of the elements, learned with astonishment the continued advance of their assailants; and, on beholding them approach the gates of Arcot amid pealing thunder, vivid flashes of lightning, and fast-falling rain, panic spread from breast to breast: the fort was abandoned, and the English, strong in the supposed possession of supernatural courage, entered it without a blow. The city had neither walls nor defences, and no obstruction was offered to the few hundred men who passed on as conquerors, gazed upon with fear, admiration, and respect, through streets crowded by 100,000 spectators. They took possession of the citadel, in which was found a large quantity of lead and gunpowder, with eight pieces of cannon of small calibre. The merchants had, for security, deposited there effects to the value of £50,000; but these were punctually restored to the owners: and "this judicious abstemiousness," adds Orme, "conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest. The fort was inhabited by 3,000 or 4,000 persons, who, at their own request, were permitted to remain in their dwellings."

There could be little doubt that vigorous attempts would be made by Chunda Sahib to recover the city which had thus strangely slid from his grasp. Clive instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. It was a discouraging task, even to a man whose genius ever shone most brightly amid danger and difficulty. The walls of the fort were ruinous; the ditches dry; the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns; the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The fugitive garrison, ashamed of the manner in which they had abandoned the place, assembled together, and encamped close to the town. At dead of night Clive sallied out with almost his entire force, attacked the camp, slew great numbers, and returned to his

quarters, without having lost a single man.* A more dangerous enemy soon appeared, consisting of about 10,000 men, including 150 French from Pondicherry, under the command of Reza Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.† The garrison had but a slight prospect of maintaining its ground against so formidable an armament; and certainly the retention of Arcot was little less marvellous than its conquest, though accomplished by wholly different means. In the first instance, a scanty force took possession, without effort, of a prize unexpectedly placed within their reach; in the latter case, although reduced by casualties to 324 in number, they showed themselves determined to sacrifice even life in its defence. For fifty days the assault continued; but the courage of the besieged never faltered: they held together as one man; and at length, when food began to fail, and was doled out in diminishing portions, the sepoys, in their exceeding devotion to their suffering comrades, came in a body to Clive, and entreated that all the grain in store might be given to the Europeans who required a nourishing diet,—they could subsist on the water in which the rice was boiled.‡ The reputation of the gallant defence of Arcot proved the immediate cause of its success. An ineffectual attempt at succour, on the part of the Madras government, was followed by the approach of 6,000 Mahrattas, under the famous leader Morari Rao. These troops had been enlisted in the service of Mohammed Ali, but, deeming his cause hopeless, had remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. As a last resource, Clive managed to convey to them an earnest appeal for succour, and received an immediate reply from the chief, that, being at length convinced the English could fight, he would not lose a moment in attempting their relief. This circumstance coming to the ears of Reza Sahib, he forthwith dispatched a flag of truce to the garrison, with offers of honourable terms of capitulation, and a large sum of money to their commander, as the alternative of the instant storming of the fort and the slaughter of all its defenders. Clive, in rejecting the whole proposition, gave vent to his characteristic haughtiness, by taunting Reza Sahib with the badness of his cause, and the inefficiency of his "rabble

* Fifteen Europeans perished in a subsequent sally against the force of Reza Sahib: amongst these was Lieutenant Trenwith, who, perceiving a sepoy from a window taking aim at Clive, pulled him aside and was himself shot through the body.

† Orme calls this leader *Rajah* Sahib; Wilks (a much better authority in a question of orthography), *Reza*.

‡ This water, called *Cunjee*, resembles very thin gruel.

force." Then, having taken all possible measures to resist the expected attack, he lay down exhausted with fatigue, but was soon aroused by the loud uproar of oriental warfare in its most imposing form.

It was the 14th of November—the period allotted to the commemoration of the fearful massacre on the plains of Kerbela, in which the imaum Hussyn, the grandchild of "the prophet," with his whole family and followers, suffered a cruel death at the hands of his inveterate foes. The recurrence of this solemn festival is usually the signal for the renewal of fierce strife, either by words or blows, between the Sheikhs and the Sunnites, or followers of the caliphs, by whom Ali and his children were superseded. The Mohammedans engaged in the siege seem to have been Sheikhs; and in the absence of any sectarian quarrels, they directed the full force of the fanaticism roused by the recollection of the tragic catastrophe of Kerbela, against the infidel contemners of both imaums and caliphs, and even of their founder himself. Besides the well-known dictum of the Koran—that all who fall fighting against unbelievers offer thereby a sacrifice (accepted, because completed) for the sins of a whole life, and are at once received into the highest heaven, escaping all intermediate purgatories—a peculiar blessing is supposed to rest on those who perish in "holy" warfare during the period consecrated to the memory of the venerated imaums.* Stimulating drugs were called in to heighten the excitement of the discourses addressed by the priests; and in a paroxysm of mental and physical intoxication, the unwieldy host rushed furiously against the gates of Arcot, driving before them elephants with massive iron plates on their foreheads. The first shock of these living battering-rams was a moment of imminent peril; but the gates stood firm; and then, as in many previous instances, the huge animals, maddened by the musket-balls of the foe, became utterly ungovernable, and turning round, trampled down hundreds of those who had brought forward such dangerous auxiliaries, causing con-

fusion throughout their whole ranks. About an hour elapsed, during which time three desperate onsets were made, and determinedly resisted; the steady fire of the garrison telling fearfully on the shrieking, yelling mass beneath. The assailants then retired beyond the partially dry moat, with the loss of about 400 men,† and requested a short truce, that they might bury their dead. The English gladly complied: they must have needed rest; for many of them being previously disabled by wounds and sickness, the labour of repulsing the foe had fallen upon eighty Europeans (officers included) and 120 sepoys; and these, besides serving five pieces of cannon, had expended 12,000 musket cartridges during the attack, the front ranks being kept constantly supplied with loaded guns by those behind them.‡ The stipulated interval passed away; the firing recommenced, and continued from four in the afternoon until two in the morning, when it entirely ceased. The besieged passed some anxious hours; even the four or five men they had lost could be ill spared, for they expected to find the foe in full force at daybreak; instead of which they beheld the town abandoned, and joyfully took possession of several guns and a large quantity of ammunition left behind in the retreat.

The news of this extraordinary triumph was received at Madras with the utmost enthusiasm. Mohammed Ali, who now assumed the privilege once exclusively confined to the reigning emperor, of bestowing titles, called Clive—Sabut Jung (the daring in war), a well-earned designation which the young soldier bore ever after on his Persian seal, and by which he became known throughout India.

A reinforcement of 200 English soldiers and 700 sepoys joined Clive a few hours after the raising of the siege. Leaving a small garrison at Arcot, he set forth in pursuit of Reza Sahib; and having succeeded in effecting a junction with a Mahratta division, overtook the enemy by forced marches, and, after a sharp action, gained a complete victory.§ The military chest of the defeated general fell into the hands of the con-

* The other imaum (Hassan) likewise fell a victim to the machinations of the caliph Mauwiyah.—(See previous pages, 58—62.)

† Orme states, that but few of these were Europeans; for most of the French troops were observed drawn up and looking on at a distance.—(i., 195.)

‡ The personal exertions of Clive were very great. Perceiving the gunners taking ineffectual aim at a body of the enemy, who were striving to cross on

a raft the water which filled a portion of the ditch, he took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and, by three or four vigorous discharges, compelled the abandonment of this attempt.

§ A gallant exploit was performed on the part of the enemy by a sepoy, who, beholding a beloved commander fall in the breach, crossed the ditch and carried off the body, passing unscathed through the fire of at least forty muskets.—(Orme, i., 194.)

querors, 600 of his sepoy joined their ranks, and the governor of the neighbouring fort of Arnee consented to abandon the cause of Chunda Sahib, and recognise the title of Mohammed Ali. The great pagoda of Conjeveram, which had been seized and occupied by the French during the siege of Arcot, was regained after a slight struggle.* Towards the close of the campaign of 1752, Clive was recalled to Fort St. David. On the march he arrived at the scene of the assassination of Nazir Jung, the chosen site of a new town, projected to commemorate the successes of the French in the East. Dupleix Futtehabad (the city of the victory of Dupleix) was the name given to the place; and a stately quadrangular pillar, with inscriptions in various eastern languages, recounted the short-lived triumph of the ambitious builder. Clive and his followers destroyed the newly-raised foundations, levelled the column to the ground and went their way in triumph, amid the wondering natives, who had lately deemed the French invincible.

Notwithstanding the brilliant exploits of his allies, the position of Mohammed Ali continued extremely precarious: many of the strongholds of the province were in hostile keeping; and the want of funds wherewith to pay the army, daily threatened to produce mutiny or desertion. Under these circumstances he appealed to the government of Mysoor, and, by extravagant promises in the event of success, prevailed upon the regent to send supplies of money and soldiers to Trichinopoly. The Mysoreans

troops were 14,000 strong; the Mahrattas, under Morari Rao, numbered 6,000 more; and the Tanjore rajah, who had previously remained neutral, now sent 5,000 men to join the allies. These accessions of strength were soon followed by the arrival of Major Lawrence (then newly returned from Europe), with Clive at his right hand, accompanied by 400 Europeans, 1,100 sepoy, eight field-pieces, and a large quantity of military stores. Preparations were immediately made to take the field. Dupleix became alarmed at the altered state of affairs. As a military commander he had never attained celebrity.† Bussy was absent in the train of Salabut Jung; the remonstrances of Chunda Sahib were unheeded; and the entire force, although the Carnatic lay open before them, took up a position in the fortified pagoda of Seringham, on an island formed by the branches of the Coleroon and Cavery. All parties suffered severely from the protracted duration of the war. The mercantile affairs of the English company were extremely distressed by the drain on their finances; and Major Lawrence, believing it to be an emergency which justified "risking the whole to gain the whole,"‡ sanctioned the daring proposal of his young subaltern—to divide their small force, and remaining himself at the head of one portion for the protection of Trichinopoly, dispatch the other, under the leadership of Clive,§ to cut off the communication between Seringham and Pondicherry. Complete success attended the measure.|| Chunda Sahib besought M. Law, the commander of the

* While reconnoitring the pagoda over a garden wall, the companion of Clive, Lieutenant Bulkley, was shot through the head close by his side.

† A memoir, drawn up by the French E. I. Co., in answer to one published by Dupleix, accuses him of having more than once manifested a deficiency in personal courage, and states that he accounted for the care with which he kept beyond the range of a musket-ball, by declaring that, "le bruit des armes suspendait ses réflexions, et que le ealme seul convenait à son génie."—(Mill's *British India*, iii., 83.)

‡ Orme's *Military Transactions*, i., 220.

§ Some difficulty arose regarding the appointment of a junior captain to so important a command; but this obstacle was removed by the express declaration of Morari Rao and the Mysoreans—that they would take no part in the expedition if dispatched under any other leader than the defender of Arcot.—(Id.)

|| M. d'Auteuil was dispatched by Dupleix with supplies from Pondicherry. Owing to a double mistake on the part of Clive and d'Auteuil, the former was led to believe that the information conveyed to him regarding the French detachment was incorrect; the latter, being informed that the English commander was absent in pursuit of him, thought to

take advantage of the slightly-defended British post. With this view he sent eighty Europeans and 700 sepoy. The party included—to the sad disgrace of our countrymen—forty English deserters, whose familiar speech nearly procured the success of the treacherous undertaking. The strangers, on pretence of being a reinforcement come from Major Lawrence, were suffered to pass the outworks without giving the pass-word. They proceeded quietly until they reached an adjacent pagoda and choultry (place of entertainment), where Clive lay sleeping, and there answered the challenge of the sentinels by a discharge of musketry. A ball shattered a box near the couch of Clive, and killed a servant close beside him. Springing to his feet he rushed out, and was twice wounded without being recognised. A desperate struggle ensued; the English deserters fought like wild beasts at bay. The pagoda was in possession of the French, and the attempt to regain it was broken off until cannon could be obtained. Clive advanced to the porch to offer terms: faint with loss of blood, in a stooping posture he leant on two sergeants. The leader of the deserters (an Irishman) came forward, addressed Clive in opprobrious language (apparently infuriated by some private

French forces, to make a determined effort to shake off the toils fast closing round them; but all in vain. Provisions began to fail, and men to desert; at length the personal safety of the nabob becoming in evident danger, and his constitution rapidly giving way under the combined effects of age and anxiety, attempts were made to secure his escape by intriguing with his foes. Negotiations were opened with Monajee, the commander of the Tanjore force, and a large sum of money paid to him, in return for which he swore "on his sword and dagger" to protect the unhappy noble, and convey him unharmed to the French settlement of Karikal. This adjuration a Mahratta rarely violates; but Monajee did so in the present instance. His motives are variously stated. One eminent writer asserts, on native authority, that he acted as the instrument of Mohammed Ali.* Orme, that his treachery originated in the disputes which took place in the camp of the allies so soon as the arrival of Chunda Sahib became known. Fearing that his prize would be snatched away, either by the English, the Mysoreans, or the Mahrattas for their own ends, he settled the dispute by causing the object of it to be put to death. The event is still regarded by Mohammedans as a remarkable manifestation of divine vengeance; for, in the very choultry where, sixteen years before, Chunda Sahib, by a false oath, deceived the rane of Trichinopoly, he was now cruelly murdered while lying prostrate on the ground, broken down by sickness and disappointment.† The head was sent to Trichinopoly; and Mohammed Ali, after gazing for the first time on the face of his rival, caused it to be exposed in barbarous triumph on the walls of the city. The French at Seringham ‡ capitulated immediately after

the above occurrence; and the English, desirous of continuing their successful career, urged the nabob to proceed at once to Jinjee. He hesitated, procrastinated, and at length confessed that the aid of the Mysoor government had been obtained by no less a bribe than a signed and sealed agreement for the cession of Trichinopoly and its dependencies. Major Lawrence was bitterly mortified at finding that the city to which, at this period, an importance far above its intrinsic value was attached, could not after all be retained by the person with whose interests those of his countrymen had become identified, except by a flagrant breach of faith which he honestly pronounced quite unjustifiable.§ The nabob would not see the matter in this light; the Mysoreans, he argued, never could expect the fulfilment of such an unreasonable stipulation, especially while the chief portion of the dominions claimed by him as governor of the Carnatic still remained to be subdued: abundant remuneration should be made for their valuable services; but, as to surrendering Trichinopoly that was out of the question; for, after all, it was not his to give, but only to hold in trust for the Great Mogul. This very convenient after-thought did not satisfy the Mysoreans. Both parties appealed to the Madras presidency, and received in return assurances of extreme good-will, and recommendations to settle the matter amicably with one another.|| Morari Rao, the Mahratta chieftain, took a leading part in the discussion which followed, and received gifts on both sides; but it soon became evident that his impartial arbitration, if accepted, was likely to terminate after the fashion of that of the monkey in the fable,—the shells for his clients, the oyster for himself;¶ and at length, after much time spent in altercation, the

quarrel), and taking a deliberate aim, fired his musket. Clive asserts that the ball killed both his supporters, while he remained untouched. The Frenchmen disowned any share in the outrage, and surrendered; the enemy's sepoy were cut to pieces by the Mahratta allies of the English.—(*Life*, 116.)

* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i. 284. † *Idem*, 285.

‡ Under M. Law, a nephew of the Scottish schemer.

§ Yet, from fear of the designs of Nunjeraj and Morari Rao, Major Lawrence afterwards suggested to the presidency the seizure of their persons.

|| "We wrote to the King of Mysoor that we were merchants, allies to the circar (government), not principals."—(Letter from Madras, Nov., 1752.) The Presidency found it as convenient to disavow the semblance, while grasping the reality, of power, as did the nabob to profess fealty to the emperor: at the same time it must be remembered, they were wholly ignorant of the pledge given by their ally.

¶ After the capture of Trichinopoly, in 1741, by the Mahrattas, it remained under the charge of Morari Rao, until its surrender to the nizam, in 1743. Morari Rao, a few years later, managed to establish himself in the Bala Ghant district of Gooty, and became the leader of a band of mercenaries. By careful training and scrupulous exactitude in the stated division of plunder, these men were maintained in perfect order; and from having frequently encountered European troops, could be relied on even to withstand the steady fire of artillery. Morari Rao and his Mahrattas were, consequently, very important auxiliaries, for whose services the English and French outbid one another. Wilks remarks, they were best characterised by the Persian compound, *Muft-Khoor* (eating at other people's expense): in the present case they were acting as subsidiaries to the Mysoor force, in the immediate pay of Nunjeraj.—(*Mysoor*, i, 252.)

nabob, glad of any pretext for gaining time, promised to deliver up the fort in two months. Nunjeraj (the Mysoor general) seemingly assented to this arrangement; but so soon as Mohammed Ali and Major Lawrence had marched off towards Jinjee, he commenced intriguing with the English garrison for the surrender of the place. The attempt afforded the nabob a flimsy pretext for avowing his determination to retain possession. The result was an open breach with the Mysoreans and Mahrattas. Dupleix, aided as before by the knowledge and influence of his wife, entered into communication with the offended leaders, and exerted every effort to form a powerful confederacy against Mohammed Ali and his supporters. The chief obstacle to his scheme arose from a deficiency of funds and European troops. The French company were much poorer than the English body; and their territorial revenues formed the only available resource for the support of the force at Pondicherry, and that maintained by Bussy at Hyderabad: little surplus remained for the costly operations planned by Dupleix; but he supplied all deficiencies by expending his own princely fortune in the cause. The want of trustworthy soldiers was a more irremediable defect. The officers sent to India were, for the most part, mere boys, whose bravery could not compensate for their utter ignorance of their profession; the men were the very refuse of the population.*

The attempt made by Major Lawrence upon Jinjee failed; but the English cam-

paign of 1752 terminated favourably, with a victory gained near Baloor, two miles from Fort St. David, and the capture of the forts of Covelong and Chingleput.† These last exploits were performed by Clive, who then returned to England for his health, carrying with him a young bride, an independent fortune, and a brilliant military reputation.‡

Early in January, 1753, the rival armies again took the field. No decisive action occurred; but in May, Trichinopoly was again attacked, and continued, for more than a twelvemonth, the scene of active hostility. The assailants had not sufficient superiority to overpower or starve out the garrison, nor could the English compel them to raise the siege. The introduction or interception of supplies engaged the unwearied attention of both parties, and many severe conflicts occurred, without any decisive advantage being gained by either.

Meantime the mercantile associations in Europe, and especially in France, grew beyond measure impatient at the prolongation of hostilities. Dupleix, foreseeing the unbounded concessions into which the desire for peace would hurry his employers, himself opened a negotiation with the Madras government, where Mr. Saunders, an able and cautious man, presided. The deputies met at the neutral Dutch settlement of Sadras.§ The question at issue—whether Mohammed Ali should or should not be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, after being for four years contested with the sword—was now to be weighed in the balance

* Addressing the French minister, in 1753, Dupleix described the recruits sent him as "enfants, décroteurs et bandits" * * * "un ramassis de la plus vile canaille;" and he complained bitterly that, with the exception of Bussy, he never had an officer on whose ability he could place the smallest reliance.—(Mill, edited by Wilson, iii. 130.)

† The English forces, under Lawrence, were for the most part of a very efficient description; but the only detachment which could be spared on this occasion consisted of 200 recruits, styled by Macaulay "the worst and lowest wretches that the company's crimps could pick up in the flash houses of London," together with 500 sepoys just levied. So utterly undisciplined were the new-made soldiers, that on attacking Covelong, the death of one of them by a shot from the fort was followed by the immediate flight of his companions. On another occasion a sentinel was found, some hours after an engagement, out of harm's way at the bottom of a well. Clive, nevertheless, succeeded in inspiring these unpromising auxiliaries with something of his own spirit; the sepoys seconded him to the utmost. Covelong fell; a detachment sent to its relief was surprised by an ambuscade, 100 of the enemy were killed by one fire, 300 taken prisoners, and the remainder pursued to the

gates of Chingleput. The fortress was besieged and a breach made, upon which the French commandant capitulated and retired with the garrison.

‡ Clive married the sister of Maskelyne, the eminent mathematician, who long held the office of Astronomer Royal. The amount of the fortune, acquired as prize-money, during the few years which had elapsed since he arrived in Madras a penniless youth, does not appear; but it is certain that he had sufficient to reclaim, in his own name, the family estate, and to extricate his father from pecuniary embarrassment, beside what he lavished in an extravagant mode of life. Dress, equipages, and more than all, a contested election, followed by a petition, left Clive, at the expiration of two years, the choice between a very limited income or a return to India. He took the latter course. The E. I. Cy., on his arrival in England, had shown their sense of his brilliant exploits by the gift of a sword set with diamonds—a mark of honour which, through his interference, was extended to his early patron and staunch friend, Major Lawrence; and when Clive's brief holiday was over, they gladly welcomed him back to their service, and procured for him the rank of lieutenant-col. in the British army.—(*Life*, i., 131.)

§ Forty-two miles south of Madras.

of justice. Dupleix, as the delegate of the nizam or subahdar of the Deccan, claimed the right of appointment, which he had at different times attempted to bestow upon Reza Sahib and Murtezza Ali (of Vellore); the English continued to plead the cause of the candidate they had from the first steadily supported: and both the one and the other, in the absence of any more plausible pretext, reverted to the stale plea of imperial authority. Patents and grants were produced or talked of, which were respectively declared by the opposing parties forgeries and mere pretences. After eleven days' discussion, the proceedings broke off with mutual crimination. Dupleix was censured (doubtless, with sufficient cause) as haughty and overbearing: no arrangement, it was asserted, would ever result from discussions in which he was allowed to take part. The French ministry were glad to free themselves of any portion of the blame attached to the ill success which had attended the arms of the nation in the late contest, and to hold the company and its servants responsible for all failures. The bold and warlike policy of Dupleix had been deemed meritorious while successful: his brilliant and gainful exploits were, at one time, the theme of popular applause; but now, while struggling with unflagging energy against the tide of misfortune, his unbounded ambition and overweening self-conceit overlooked in prosperity, outweighed the remembrance of zeal, experience, and fidelity in the minds of the French Directory, and in August, 1754, a new governor-general, M. Godheu, arrived at Pondicherry, with authority to conclude a peace.* The English were permitted to retain the services of Mr. Saunders and others, well versed in local affairs, instead of being compelled to trust to commissioners newly arrived from

Europe. The decision arrived at, though apparently equally fair for both sides, involved, on the part of the French, the sacrifice of all they had been fighting for. One clause of the treaty enacted, that all interference in the quarrels of native princes should be relinquished; and thus tacitly recognised Mohammed Ali as nabob of the Carnatic; another proviso[†] based the territorial arrangements of the two nations on the principle of equality, and if fulfilled, would entail the resignation of the valuable provinces called the Northern Circars,[‡] lately bestowed on Bussy by Salabut Jung. This prince, it is true, was left subahdar of the Deccan, but the English had never attempted to oppose him. Indeed, the sudden death (attributed to poison),[§] of Ghazi-ooddeen, the eldest son of the old nizam, when approaching at the head of a large army to dispute the pretensions of his brother, had left Salabut Jung in the position of lineal heir, now that the Deccan vicerealty, like that of Bengal, had come to be looked upon as an hereditary principality.

The treaty was infringed as soon as made. The English proceeded to reduce to obedience to their nabob the districts of Madura and Tinnivelly. The French, under Bussy, retained the circars, and continued to support Salabut Jung. In so doing, they unwillingly contributed to relieve Mohammed Ali from one of his great difficulties—the blockade of Trichinopoly by the Mysoreans.

Nunjeraj, justly repudiating the right of the French to make peace on his behalf, persisted in endeavouring to get possession of the fort, until the rumoured approach of a body of Mahrattas to levy contributions on the Mysoor frontier, and the simultaneous advance of Salabut Jung to demand tribute in the name of the Mogul, induced him suddenly to march homewards, to the infi-

* Dupleix immediately returned to France. His accounts with the French company showed a disbursement of nearly £400,000 beyond what he had received during the war. This claim was wholly set aside, upon the plea that expenses had been incurred without sufficient authority. He commenced a law-suit against the company for the recovery of monies spent in its behalf; but the royal authority was exercised to put a summary stop to these proceedings; and all the concession made to Dupleix was the grant of letters of protection against the prosecution of his creditors—which was nothing better than atoning for one injustice by committing another. The career of the proud governor—who had compelled his own countrymen to kneel before him, had threatened to reduce Madras to a mere fishing village, and of whom it had been boasted that his

name was mentioned with fear even in the palace of ancient Delhi—terminated sadly enough in disputing over the wreck of his fortune, and soliciting audiences in the ante-chamber of his judges. Such at least is the account given by Voltaire, who adds emphatically, "Il en mourut bientôt de chagrin."—(*Précis du Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. xxxix.)

† "The two companies, English and French, shall renounce for ever all Moorish government and dignity, and shall never interfere in any differences that arise between the princes of the country."—(First article of Treaty, signed December, 1754.)

‡ Namely, Mustaphabad, Ellore, Rajahmundry, and Chicacole (anciently Calinga): these additions made the French masters of the sea-coast of Coromandel and Orissa, in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles.

§ Prepared by the mother of Nizam Ali.

Before quitting the intricate proceedings on the Coromandel coast, narrated in the foregoing pages, the reader may wish to glance over the annexed summary of the leading events in the south of India. Though chiefly a chronological recapitulation of facts already stated, it likewise anticipates some yet to be described. Having felt the want of "a chart" to illustrate the several territories and dynasties, I subjoin it as an assistance to others in the same position:—

STATES OF SOUTHERN INDIA CONNECTED WITH ENGLISH AND FRENCH CONTESTS IN THE CARNATIC IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

Name . . .	DECCAN.	MAHRATTA.	CARNATIC.	MYSOOR.	TANJORE.	TRAVANCORE.	TRICHINOPOLY.
Capital . .	HYDERABAD.	SATTARA AND POONA.	ARCOT.	SERINGAPATAM.	TANJORE.	TRAVANCORE.	TRICHINOPOLY.
Dynasty . .	Mohammadian.	Hindoo.	Mohammadian.	Hindoo and Mohand.	Hindoo.	Hindoo.	Hindoo and Mohand.
Origin of state; founders or usurpers; successive rulers; and principal authority.	Nizam-ool-Moolk, or <i>Touf Jah</i> , vicer of the emperor Mohammed, and others; or sobahdar, or viceroy of the Deccan. In 1717 he assumed sovereignty over the remnant of the Mogul conquests in the south of India; died in 1748. Succession disputed; eldest son, <i>Ghazi-ooldeen</i> , supported by Mahrattas; poisoned by another of his half-brothers, <i>Aziz Jung</i> , second son, supported by English, <i>Mozaffer Jung</i> , a grandson, supported by French; assassinated by Patans, <i>Satad Jung</i> , another brother, substituted, but dethroned in turn by <i>Nizam Ali</i> , in 1761; who, in 1766, became by treaty an ally of, and had his territories protected by, the E. I. Co., in return for the cession of the Northern Circars. In 1795, the French force at Hyderabad was entirely removed, in compliance with a treaty arranged by Lord Wellesley.	<i>Sevjee</i> , son of Shah-je, grandson of Mahrattas, who had a jaghire at Poona, consolidated the Mahrattas by conquests from Aurangzebe, kings of Begapoor, Ahmednagar, and others; died in 1680. <i>Sambhjee</i> , his son and successor, put to death by Aurangzebe; grandson, <i>Shao</i> , became a puppet in the hands of his minister the Peshwa, <i>Bajee Rao</i> , whose eldest son and successor, <i>Ballajee Bajee Rao</i> , obtained from Shao a transfer of real power, and became, in 1749, head of the Mahratta confederacy. Ballajee died in 1761. <i>Bajee</i> , second son, a minor, succeeded with his uncle <i>Ragoba</i> as regent. <i>Madhoo</i> died in 1772; brother, <i>Narrain</i> , succeeded; murdered; <i>Ragoba</i> (Rugonath <i>Rao</i>) proclaimed peshwa. Territory now British.	<i>Seadat Oollah</i> , in 1766, appointed by the Mogul nabob or governor; died 1782—no male issue; nephew, <i>Dost Ali</i> , succeeded; defeated and slain by Mahrattas, 1740. <i>Sayder Ali</i> , his son and successor, assassinated; infant heir proclaimed nabob, stabbed by Patan soldiers. <i>Ameer-ooldeen</i> , proclaimed nabob, by the Mahrattas, in 1753; was slain in battle, in 1759; his son, <i>Mohammed Ali</i> , after various contests with Chunda Sahib and the French, remained in possession of that portion of the Carnatic recovered by British arms. In 1753, the English had to reconquer the Carnatic from Hyder Ali, the sultan of Mysoor. Before the close of the century, the whole authority passed into the hands of the E. I. Co., and the nabob became a state pensioner.	<i>Hyder</i> , the first recorded rajah, in 1567; in 1610, Serjengapatam acquired, and other territories subsequently added. In 1714, <i>Nasirjee</i> and another minister became the depositaries of power, and the rajah a mere cipher. They were put down, and the throne usurped, in 1769, by a Mohammedan soldier of fortune, <i>Hyder Ali</i> , who ravaged the Carnatic by the aid of the French to the gates of Madras; died in 1782, and was succeeded by his son Tippoo, who carried on three wars against the British, and was slain at the capture of Seringapatam by the Marquess Wellesley, in 1799, when the Hindoo rajah was restored as a stipendiary of the E. I. Co. The Mysoor territory has since been governed by British officers in the name of the rajah.	Occupied by <i>Venajee</i> , a Mahratta chief, half-brother to <i>Sevjee</i> , in 1678. This state formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Madura. There was a lineal descent from <i>Venajee</i> continued till the reign of <i>Toulojee</i> , son and successor of <i>Iverlob Saug</i> , in 1772; the fort was then captured by the British on behalf of Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, who claimed tribute,—restored to the rajah in 1781, he becoming a stipendiary to the E. I. Co. In 1799, <i>Rajah Seerjee</i> surrendered the country to the British, on whom he became a pensioner, with an income of £35,000 <i>per ann.</i> Service died in 1832, and was succeeded by his only son, <i>Sevjee</i> , the present stipendiary. <i>Franchegar</i> , in Tanjore, purchased by English from Danes in 1845.	Part of ancient Malabar, and a gynecocracy for many ages; until Mardanden Wurmah persuaded the princesses to resign the future sovereignty to the male line. Between 1740 and 1759, Mardanden subdued many petty neighbouring states. In 1784, it was included in a treaty between the E. I. Co. and Mysoor. In 1789 the state was devastated by Tippoo Sultan, and in 1799 the rajah agreed by treaty to pay an annual subsidy for the maintenance of a British force in his dominions; in 1805 another and more stringent treaty was formed; in 1808 and in 1812, insurrections against British authority were suppressed; in 1832 rajah entrusted with the maintenance of internal peace; political control retained by the British government.	<i>Hindoo and Mohand.</i> A Hindoo principality. In 1732 the rajah died without issue; one of his wives continued to reign until 1736, when <i>Chunda Sahib</i> the ally of the French in the Carnatic, obtained possession by treachery; seized from him by the Mahrattas in 1741. The nizam gained possession in 1743, and delegated the government to Anwar-ooldeen; on his death, in 1749, the territory devolved on his second son, Mohammed Ali, nabob of the Carnatic. The fort was besieged by the French and their allies from 1751 to 1753, and defended by the English. Upon the transfer of the dominion of the Carnatic to the English, E. I. Co., Trichinopoly was incorporated with the Anglo-Indian empire.

nite relief of the nabob. While the treaty was pending, a British squadron with reinforcements had been sent to India, under Admiral Watson, and the decided superiority thus given to the English probably accelerated the arrangement of affairs. Their services were now employed in the suppression of the systematic piracy carried on by the Angria family for nearly fifty years on the Malabar coast. The peishwa, or chief minister of the Mahratta state, viewed them in the light of rebellious subjects, and united with the English for their suppression. Early in 1755, the fort of Severndroog, and the island of Baucoot, were taken by Commodore James; and in the following year, Watson, in co-operation with Clive (then just returned from England with the appointment of governor of Fort St. David), captured Gheria, the principal harbour and stronghold of the pirates. The English and Mahrattas both coveted this position: the tactics of the former proved successful. Booty to the amount of £150,000 sterling was obtained, and its distribution occasioned disputes of a very discreditable character between the sea and land services. The partial biographer of Clive endeavours to set forth his hero on this, as on other occasions, as generous and disinterested; but few unprejudiced readers will be inclined to acquit him of fully sharing, what Sir John Malcolm himself describes as "that spirit of plunder, and that passion for the rapid accumulation of wealth, which actuated all ranks."—(i. 135.)

The scene of Anglo-Indian politics is about to change; the hostilities on the Coromandel coast serving but as the prelude to the more important political transactions of which the Calcutta presidency became the centre.

WAR OF BENGAL.—Ali Verdi Khan, subahdar or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, died in 1756. Though in name a delegate of the Mogul emperor, he had long been virtually independent, and his power recognised as hereditary. In the absence of any nearer relative, this important government devolved on his grandson, Mirza Mahmood, a prince better known by his title of Surajah Dowlah. Ali Verdi had no sons: his three daughters married their cousins; and this youth, the

offspring of one of these alliances, from his cradle remarkable for extraordinary beauty, became the object of excessive fondness on the part of his grandfather. Unrestrained indulgence took the place of careful training, and deepened the defects of a feeble intellect and a capricious disposition. To the vices incident to the enervating atmosphere of a scraglio, he is said to have added a tendency for society of the most degrading character; and as few of the courtiers chose to risk the displeasure of their future lord, with little chance of any effectual interference on the part of their present ruler, Surajah Dowlah was suffered to carry on a career of which even the annals of eastern despotism afford few examples. A Mohammedan writer emphatically declares, that "he carried defilement wherever he went,"* and became so generally detested, that people, on meeting him by chance, used to say, "God save us from him!"† The accession to irresponsible power of a youth of this character, could not fail to inspire a general feeling of apprehension. The English had special cause for alarm, inasmuch as the new ruler entertained strong prejudices in their disfavour. Some authorities state that Ali Verdi Khan, shortly before his death, had advised his destined successor to put down the growing military power of this nation; more probably he had urged the pursuance of his own gainful and conciliatory policy of exacting, at different times and occasions, certain contributions from all European settlements under his sway, taking care, at the same time, not to drive them into a coalition against his authority, or by any exorbitant demand to injure his permanent revenues by rendering their commerce unremunerative. Policy of this character was far beyond the comprehension of Surajah Dowlah. The plodding traders of Calcutta were, in his eyes, not as in reality agents and factors of a far distant association, but men of enormous private wealth, like the Hindoo sonears or bankers, whom one of his countrymen declared resembled sponges, which gathered all that came in their way, but returned all at the first pressure.‡ This pressure the English were now to receive: a pretext was easily found. The impending outbreak of European war would, it was evident, lead

* *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 646.

† The son of Mohammed Ali made this remark as a reason for employing Hindoo officials in preference to his fellow-believers, whom, he asserted, were like

sieves—"much of what was poured in, went through."—(Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 222.)

‡ The one wife of Ali Verdi Khan steadily befriended the English.—(Holwell's *Historical Events*, p. 176.)

to hostilities in India: they had, therefore, begun to take measures for the defence of the presidency. Surajah Dowlah, with whom a previous misunderstanding had occurred,* sent them an imperative order to desist, and received in return a deprecatory message, urging the necessity of taking measures against French invasion. The subahdar, remembering the neutrality enforced by his grandfather, deemed the excuse worse than the fault; and, although actually on the march against a rebellious relative, he abandoned this object, and advanced immediately to the factory at Cossimbazar, which at once surrendered, the few Europeans there having no means of offering any resistance. The tidings were received at Calcutta with dismay. The defensive proceedings, which had attracted the attention of the subahdar, must have been very partial; for the works, stores of ammunition, and artillery were all utterly insufficient to sustain a protracted siege. The garrison comprised 264 men, and the militia, formed of European and native inhabitants, 250;† but their training had been so little attended to, that when called out, scarcely any among them “knew the right from the wrong end of their muskets.”‡ Assistance was entreated from the neighbouring Dutch settlement of Chinsura, but positively refused; and, in the urgent necessity of the case, the probability of impending warfare with the French did not deter the presidency from appealing to them for aid. The reply was an insolent intimation that it should be granted if the English would quit Calcutta, and remove their garrison and effects to Chandernagore; that is, put themselves completely into the power of their patronising protectors. The last resource—an endeavour to purchase immunity from Surajah Dowlah—failed, and an attempt at resistance followed. The military officers on the spot, of whom none ranked higher than a captain, were notoriously incompetent to direct a difficult defence; the civil authorities had neither energy nor presence of mind to counterbalance the deficiencies of their colleagues. To abandon the fort and retreat to shipboard was the common

opinion; and, under the circumstances, no dishonour would have attended such a course, if judiciously carried out. But the thunder of the enemy without the walls, was less inimical to the safety of the inhabitants than the confusion, riot, and insubordination within, which, in the words of a modern historian, “made the closing scene of the siege one of the most disgraceful in which Englishmen were ever engaged.”§ The intention of a general escape was frustrated by the miserable selfishness of those on whom it devolved to make arrangements for the safety of the whole. The men sent off with the women and children refused to return; and soon after the governor and commandant, with a select body of cowards, seized the last boats which remained at the wharf, and joined the ships which, partaking of the general panic, had dropped down the river. The inhabitants, thus abandoned to the power of a despot whose naturally cruel temper they believed to be inflamed by a peculiar hatred towards themselves, elected Mr. Holwell (a member of council) as their leader, and for two days continued the defence of the place, in the hope that some of the ships would return to their stations and answer the repeated calls for aid made by means of fiery signals thrown up from all parts of the town. These were indeed little needed, for the continued firing of the enemy proclaimed aloud their increasing danger. Orme, who has minutely examined the details of this discreditable business, declares, that “a single sloop, with fifteen brave men on board, might, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy, have come up, and, anchoring under the fort, have carried away all” those who remained to suffer a strange and terrible doom. No stronger illustration can be found of the manner in which selfishness and the greed of gain corrupt and extinguish the gentler instincts of humanity, and deprive men even of physical courage, than this affair.

Mr. Holwell strove, by throwing letters over the wall, to obtain terms of capitulation; but in vain. An assault, in which ninety-five of the garrison were killed or accumulated great wealth—escaped to Calcutta. The subahdar sent to demand the fugitive; but the messenger entering the town in a sort of disguise, was treated by the president as an impostor, and dismissed with insult from the company's territory.

* Making 540 men, 174 being Europeans

† Holwell's *India Tracts*, 302.

§ Thornton's *British India*, i., 190.

* An uncle of Surajah Dowlah died governor of Dacca. His hopeful nephew at once resolved on plundering the widowed begum, or princess his aunt, with whom he had long been at open variance, of the enormous fortune she was supposed to have inherited, and sent orders for the imprisonment of the receivers and treasurers of the province: one of these—a Hindoo, named Kishendass, supposed to have

wounded, was followed by direct insubordination on the part of the remainder of the common soldiers. They broke open the stores, and, all sense of duty lost in intoxication, rushed out of one gate of the fort, intending to escape to the river, just as the enemy entered by another. The inhabitants surrendered their arms, and the victors refrained from bloodshed. The subahdar, notwithstanding his character for inhumanity, showed no signs of it on this occasion, but took his seat in the chief apartment of the factory, and received the grandiloquent addresses of his officers and attendants with extreme elation; all angry feelings being merged in the emotions of gratified vanity at the victory thus absurdly overrated. The smallness of the sum found in the treasury (50,000 rupees) was a great disappointment; but when Mr. Holwell was carried into his presence with fettered hands, they were immediately set free; and notwithstanding some expressions of resentment at the English for the defence of the fort, he declared, upon the faith of a soldier, not a hair of their heads should be touched. The conference terminated about seven in the evening. Mr. Holwell returned to his companions in captivity, and the question arose how they were to be secured for the night. No suitable place could be found; and while the guards were searching about, the prisoners, relieved from fear by the unexpected gentleness of Surajah Dowlah, stood in groups, conversing together, utterly unsuspecting of their impending doom. The chief officer returned and announced that the only place of security he could find was the garrison prison. At this time (before the philanthropic labours of Howard) gaols, even in England, were loathsome dens; that of Calcutta was a chamber, eighteen feet long by fourteen broad, lit and ventilated by two small windows, scoured by iron bars, and overhung by a verandah. Even for a dozen European malefactors this dungeon would have been insufferably close and narrow. The prisoners of the subahdar numbered 146 persons, including many English, whose constitutions could scarcely sustain the fierce heat of Bengal in this the summer season, even with the aid of every mitigation that art could invent or money purchase. They derided the idea of being shut up in the "Black Hole," as manifestly impos-

sible. But the guards, hardened to the sight of suffering, and habitually careless of life, forced them all (including a half-cast woman, who clung to her husband) into the cell at the point of the sword, and fastened the door upon the helpless crowd. Holwell strove, by bribes and entreaties, to persuade an old man of some authority among the guards, to procure their separation into two places. He made some attempts, but returned, declaring that the subahdar slept, and none dared disturb him to request the permission, without which no change could be made in the disposition of the prisoners. The scene which ensued perhaps admits of but one comparison in horror—that one is the hold of a slave-ship. Some few individuals retained consciousness; and after hours of agony, surrounded by sights and sounds of the most appalling description, rendered up their souls tranquilly to their Creator and Redeemer, satisfied (we may hope), even under so trying a dispensation, that the dealings of Providence, though often inscrutable, are ever wise and merciful. Man, alas! often evinces little of either quality to his fellow-beings; and in this instance, while the captives, maddened by the double torment of heat and thirst, fought with each other like furious beasts to approach the windows, or to obtain a share in the pittance of water procured through the intervention of the one compassionate soldier, the other guards held lights to the iron bars, and shouted with fiendish laughter at the death-struggles of their victims.* Towards daybreak the tumult began to diminish; shrieks and groans gave place to a low fitful moaning; a sickly, pestilential vapour told the reason—the majority had perished: corruption had commenced; the few who remained were sinking fast. The fatal sleep of Surajah Dowlah at length ceased; the door was opened by his orders; the dead were piled up in heaps; and twenty-three ghastly figures (including the now widowed woman before mentioned) staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was immediately dug, into which the bodies of the murdered men, 123 in number, were promiscuously flung.

No shadow of regret seems to have been evinced by the subahdar for this horrible catastrophe.† The first flush of exultation had passed away, and feelings of pecuniary

* The detachment on guard had lost many men in the siege, and the survivors were merciless.

† Mr. Holwell and Mr. Cooke, another of the

sufferers, gave a painfully interesting account of the whole catastrophe before a committee of the House of Commons.—(*Parl. Papers*, E. I. C., 1772.)

disappointment were now uppermost. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried into his presence, with some companions, and harshly interrogated regarding the treasures of the company. No satisfactory answer being obtained, they were all lodged in miserable sheds, fed on grain and water, and left to pass as they might the crisis of the fever, in which several who lived through the night of the 20th June, 1756, perished. The release of the survivors was eventually procured by the intercession of the grandmother of the prince,* and a merchant named Omichund.

A Moorish garrison of 3,000 men was placed in Fort William, and with reckless impiety the name of Calcutta changed to that of Alinagore (the port of God.) Surajah Dowlah then exacted from the Dutch a tribute of £45,000, and £35,000 from the French; better terms being accorded to the latter, in consideration of their having furnished 200 chests of gunpowder to the army while on their march to Calcutta.

Tidings of the fall of the settlement and the catastrophe of the Black Hole reached Madras in August, and were received with a general cry for vengeance. Even at such a time the old jealousies between the land and sea forces interposed to prevent immediate action, and two months were spent in discussing how the command was to be divided, and in what manner prizes were to be distributed. At the expiration of that time, Clive and Watson sailed from Madras with ten ships, having on board 900 European troops and 1,500 sepoys. The fugitives from Calcutta were found at Fulta, a town some distance down the Ganges, and offensive operations were commenced by the attack of a fort called Budge-Budge, situated on the river banks between the places above named. An unaccountable piece of carelessness on the part of Clive nearly occasioned the failure of the enterprise. While the ships cannonaded the fort, a number of the troops were to lay wait for the garrison, who it was expected, would abandon the place; instead of which the ambuscade was itself

surprised by a body of the enemy while resting on the march, having neglected even the common precaution of stationing sentinels to keep guard in the broad daylight. The presence of mind of Clive, aided probably by his reputation for good fortune, enabled him to rally the soldiers with rapidity, and advance with steadiness and success against the irregular ranks of two or three thousand horse and foot who had stealthily approached amid the thick jungle. Monichund, governor of Calcutta, led the attack, and on receiving a ball in his turban, this commander, having "no courage, but much circumspection,"† turned his elephant, and decamped with his entire force. The fort was cannonaded by the ship (the *Kent*) which first reached the spot, and a general attack projected for the next morning, but prevented by the silent evacuation of the place.‡ The other posts on the Ganges were abandoned at the approach of the English, and Calcutta itself recaptured, after a siege of two hours. The merchandise belonging to the company remained, for the most part, untouched, having been reserved for Surajah Dowlah; but the houses of individuals had been totally plundered. Hooghly was next attacked, and a breach easily effected; the troops mounted the rampart, and the garrison took to flight, leaving in the place a large amount of property.

Intelligence of the renewal of hostilities between England and France, reached the armament at this period. The French in Bengal had a force of 300 Europeans and a train of field-artillery. Their union with Surajah Dowlah would give him an overpowering degree of superiority; it was therefore manifestly politic to take immediate advantage of the desire for an accommodation with which the issue of the contest had inspired him.

In February, 1757, a treaty was formed, by which the subalidar—or, as he is commonly called, the nabob—consented to restore to the English their former privileges; to make compensation for the plunder of

* The widow of Ali Verdi Khan, before mentioned.

† Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 123. The total loss of the English in this affair does not appear. Orme mentions thirteen men killed. Clive, in a private letter to Mr. Pigot, remarks, that "our loss in the skirmish near Budge-Budge was greater than could well be spared if such skirmishes were to be often repeated."—(*Life*, i., 153.)

‡ The attack was deferred on account of the fatigue of the troops. A body of 250 sailors were landed in the evening, and refreshed themselves by becoming extremely drunk. One of them, about

dusk, straggled across the moat, scrambled up the rampart, and, meeting with no opposition in the deserted citadel, hallooed loudly to the advanced guards in the village that he had taken the place. Sepoys were stationed round the walls. Others of the intoxicated sailors coming up to share the triumph of their comrade, mistook the sentinels for foes, and fired their pistols. In the confusion an officer was killed. The seamen, on returning to their ships, were flogged for misconduct: the man who had discovered the flight of the garrison did not escape; upon which he swore in great wrath never to take a fort again.

Calcutta; and to permit the erection of fortifications. This arrangement was speedily followed by an alliance, offensive and defensive, eagerly ratified by both parties. The peace which followed was of short duration. The English impatiently desired to retaliate on the French their late conduct; and demanded the consent, if not the co-operation of their new ally, which he long refused, declaring with truth, that having no cause of enmity to either party, it was alike a point of duty and interest to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Beneath this ostensible reason, another existed in his desire to preserve terms with the French in the event of a rupture with the English. The invasion and capture of Delhi by Ahmed Shah Abdalli, and the fear of an advance upon Bengal, for a time banished all other schemes. The nabob clung to his European allies as an efficient defence; but a restless inquietude nevertheless possessed him; for the ability to protect was accompanied by an equal power of destruction. At length, the peremptory demand and threats of Watson and Clive, backed by the arrival of reinforcements, with well-directed bribes to underlings, extorted from him a reluctant permission to "act according to the time and occasion."* This oracular phrase was considered to imply consent to the attack of Chandernagore, which was immediately proceeded with, notwithstanding subsequent direct and repeated prohibitions.

The French conducted the defence with gallantry; but the combined force of the land and sea divisions proved irresistible. Admiral Watson evinced extraordinary seamanship in bringing two of his vessels (the *Kent* and *Tiger*) abreast the fort; and after three hours' firing the besieged capitulated. Chandernagore, like Calcutta, comprised a European and native town with a fort, and stretched over territory which, commencing at the southern limits of the Dutch settlement of Chinsura, extended two miles along the banks of the river, and about one-and-a-half inland. Clive was delighted at the conquest, considering it of more consequence than would have been that of Pondicherry itself;† which he hoped would follow. To "induce the nabob to give up all the French factories," and "drive them out, root

and branch,"‡—this and nothing less was now attempted. But Surajah Dowlah was never less inclined to so impolitic a procedure, than after the taking of Chandernagore. The exploits of the ships of war had filled him with consternation: it is even asserted that he had been made to believe they could be brought up the Ganges close to his own capital—an operation which he immediately took measures to prevent, by causing the mouth of the Cossimbazar river to be dammed up.§ The idea of counterbalancing the power of the English by that of the French, was a natural and judicious one; but he had neither judgment nor self-reliance for its execution. Old in dissipation, he was young in years and in all useful experience. Vicious habits,|| and an ungovernable tongue, had alienated from him the affections of the chosen friends and servants of his grandfather; and they viewed with disgust the contrast afforded to the provident habits and courteous bearing of their late ruler by his profligate successor. Scarcely one voice appears to have been raised up to warn the unhappy youth of the growing disaffection of his subjects. The haughty Mussulman nobles were incensed by his insulting demeanour; and the Hindoos had still stronger grounds for estrangement. Under all Mohammedan governments, the financial departments were almost solely entrusted to this thrifty and calculating race. The Brahminical and mercantile classes were treated with that solid respect, which those who wield the sword usually pay to those who keep the purse. By unwearied application and extreme personal frugality, the seits or sonears frequently accumulated immense wealth, which they well knew how to employ, both for purposes of augmentation and for the establishment of political influence. Their rulers lavished enormous sums on wars and pageants; and though sometimes violent means were used to obtain stores of hidden wealth, the more frequent course adopted by princes to raise supplies was through orders on the revenue, in the negotiation of which the bankers contrived to make a double profit. Ali Verdi Khan had understood the value of these auxiliaries, and the importance of conciliating their confidence. Under his sway Hindoos filled

tary, and inhabitants. Nearly sixty white ladies are rendered miserable by the loss of this place."—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 196.) † *Idem.*, p. 196.

§ Parker's *Transactions in the East Indies*, 57.

|| He threatened Juggut Seit with circumcision, the worst insult that could be offered to a Hindoo.

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 140.

† Clive describes Chandernagore as "a most magnificent and rich colony; the garrison consisted of more than 500 Europeans and blacks, all carrying arms; 360 are prisoners, and nearly 100 have been suffered to give their parole, consisting of civil, mili-

the highest offices of the state. Ram Narrain, the governor of Patna, and Rajah Ram of Midnapoor, were the chief of the managers and renters. Roydullub, the dewan or minister of finance, was likewise a person of great influence—the more so from his intimate connection with Juggut Seit, the representative of the wealthiest soucar, or banking firm in India. This last, by means of his extended transactions, possessed equal influence at Lucknow,* Delhi, and at Moorshedabad. Most of these persons, with the addition of Monichund, the temporary governor of Calcutta, Surajah Dowlah had offended in different ways;† and he especially resented the sense evinced by the Hindoos generally of the rising power of the English. The result was a determination to subvert his government. The chief conspirator was the bukshee, or military commander of the army, Meer Jaffier Khan, a soldier of fortune, promoted by Ali Verdi to the highest military rank, and further exalted by a marriage with a member of the reigning family. Omichund, a wealthy Hindoo merchant, long resident in Calcutta, and intimately associated by commercial dealings with the E. I. Cy., became the medium of conveying to the English overtures to join the plot. Clive at once advocated compliance, on the ground that sufficient evidence existed of the intention of the nabob to join with the French for their destruction. It certainly appears that a correspondence was actually being carried on with Bussy, but to little effect, since the precarious state of politics at the court of Salabut Jung rendered his continuance there of the first importance. Still Clive argued that the conduct of the nabob sufficed to release his countrymen from their solemn pledge, and justified them in entering into a plot with the treacherous ministers; and his strong will weighed down the opposition offered in discussing the question by a committee of the Calcutta presidency. To oppose the vacillating, cowardly intrigues of Surajah Dowlah with fraud and perjury, was decided to be a more promising course than to remain in the narrow path

of honest dealing. Meer Jaffier promised, in the event of success, large donations to the company, the army, navy, and committee. Clive declared Surajah Dowlah to be “a villain,” and Meer Jaffier “a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested.”—(Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, i., 263.)

The conduct of the chief person on this occasion, strongly supports the much-criticised opinion of Mill—that deception never cost him a pang. Vague rumours of the plot reached the nabob; and Clive, to dispel his suspicions, wrote to him “in terms so affectionate, that they for a time lulled the weak prince into perfect security.”‡ The courier conveyed a second missive of the same date, from the same hand, addressed to Mr. Watts, the British resident at Moorshedabad—in which, after referring to the “soothing letter”§ above alluded to, Clive adds, “Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing; that I will join him with 5,000 men who never turned their backs; and that if he fails seizing him, we shall be strong enough to drive him out of the country. Assure him I will march night and day, as long as I have a man left.”|| The protestations of Clive gained force in the mind of the deluded nabob, through a circumstance which occurred at this period. The Mahrattas, who had long been encroaching on the fertile provinces of Bengal, thought the unpopularity and known inefficiency of its present ruler afforded a favourable opportunity for an attempt at its complete subjugation. The capture of Cossimbazar and Calcutta would, the peishwa Balajee Bajee Rao conceived, render the English willing to enter into a coalition against the nabob, and the co-operation of the troops in the invasion of Bengal was solicited; the compensation offered being the repayment of double the amount of the losses sustained from Surajah Dowlah, and the vesting of the commerce of the Ganges exclusively in the E. I. Cy. Some doubt was entertained as to the authenticity of this communication. It was even surmised to have been a trick on the part of Surajah Dowlah; and as the assistance of the Mahrattas was by no means desirable

* The capital of the viceroy of Oude.

† The copy of a letter found at Moorshedabad, after the fatal battle of Plassey, addressed by the nabob to Bussy, contains allusions to the seizure of Chandernagore, and offered co-operation against “these disturbers of my country, Dileer Jung Bahadur, the valiant in battle (Watson), and Sabut Jung (Clive), whom bad fortune attend!”

‡ *See* Stewart's *History of the Deccan*, ii., 498; and the translation of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, published at Calcutta in 1789.—(i., 758-9.)

§ The words of Macaulay, one of Mill's censurers.

|| The following is an extract from one of Admiral Watson's letters to the nabob:—“Let us take Chandernagore,” he writes, “and secure ourselves from any apprehensions in that quarter, and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to Delhi, if you will. Have we sworn reciprocally that the friends and enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other? and will not God, the avenger of perjury, punish us if we do not fulfil our oaths?”—(Parker's *East Indies*, p. 78.)

in the scheme already set on foot, the letter was at once forwarded to the nabob as affording, in either case, evidence of the good faith of his allies. It proved to be authentic; and all the effect expected resulted from its transmission. But the execution of a plan in which many jarring interests were concerned, necessarily involved numerous dangers. At one moment a violent quarrel between the nabob and Meer Jaffier threatened to occasion a premature disclosure of the whole plot. This danger was averted by a reconciliation, in which that "estimable person," Meer Jaffier, swore upon the Koran fidelity to his master, after having a few days before, given a similar pledge to his English confederates in the projected usurpation. Clive had his full share of what Napoleon would have styled "dirty work" to do in the business. When all things were arranged, Omichund suddenly declared himself dissatisfied with the amount of compensation* allotted to him in the division of the spoil planned by the conspirators. His services at this crisis were invaluable, and his influence with the nabob had repeatedly been the means of concealing the plot. The demand of thirty laes of rupees (£350,000), was accompanied by an intimation of the danger of refusal. Whether Omichund really intended to risk the reward already agreed on, together with his own life, by betraying a transaction in which he had from the first borne a leading part, may well be doubted; but Clive took an easy method of terminating the discussion by consenting to the exorbitant stipulation. Omichund likewise insisted on the agreement regarding himself being in-

serted in the treaty between the English and Meer Jaffier. Clive seemingly complied. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red; in the former, Omichund's name was not mentioned; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained the specified proviso. The honesty of Admiral Watson had nearly defeated this manœuvre. He positively refused to sign the false treaty. Omichund would at once suspect some reason for this omission. Clive removed the difficulty by causing a Mr. Lushington to forge the important name.

Hostility to the nabob was now openly professed. The English force marched against him, sending forward a letter equivalent to a declaration of war. Surajah Dowlah dispatched an appeal for aid to the French, assembled his troops, and prepared to encounter a foreign foe, unsuspecting of the treachery at work within his camp. The courage of Meer Jaffier failed; doubt and fear, in the hour of danger, overpowered ambition: he hesitated; and instead of immediately coming over to Clive, at Cossimbazar, with his division, as had been agreed upon, he advanced with the nabob to Plassy. The position of the English became extremely perilous: the strength of the enemy twenty times outnumbered theirs. The ford of the Hooghly lay before them, easily crossed; but over which not one man might ever be able to return. Clive called a council of war for the first and last time in his whole career, probably as a cloak for his own misgivings, since he voted first, and doubtless influenced the majority in deciding that it would be imprudent to risk an advance.† This

hand, after which he stabbed himself, though (contrary to his intention) not mortally. This melancholy catastrophe did not prevent Mr. Holwell from soliciting the intervention of Omichund to procure terms of capitulation from Surajah Dowlah; and his conduct at this time totally removed the suspicions previously entertained. On the capture of the place, 400,000 rupees were plundered from his treasury, and much valuable property of different descriptions seized; but his person was set at liberty, and a favourable disposition evinced towards him by the nabob, of which he took advantage to procure the restoration of his losses in money, and likewise in soliciting the release of the survivors of the massacre, who were fed by his charity, and in great measure restored to liberty through his entreaties.

† The following is a list of the officers of this council, and the way in which they voted:—*For delay*—Robt. Clive; James Kirkpatrick; Archd. Grant; Geo. Fred. Goupp; Andrew Armstrong; Thos. Rumbold; Christian Firkan; John Corneille; H. Popham. *For immediate attack*—Eyre Coote, G. Alex. Grant; G. Muir; Chas. Palmer; Robt. Campbell; Peter Carstairs; W. Jennings.—(*Life of Clive*, i., 258.)

* The position of Omichund, with regard to the English, was peculiar. He had been connected with them in the affairs of commerce about forty years, and was looked upon as a person of great importance, both on account of his mercantile transactions, which extended to all parts of Bengal and Bahar, and the magnitude of his private fortune. His habitation is described by Orme as having been on a splendid scale, and divided into various departments, resembling rather the abode of a prince than of a merchant. Besides numerous domestic servants, he maintained (as is frequent among eastern nobles) a retinue of armed men in constant pay. When news of the approach of Surajah Dowlah reached Calcutta, the local authorities, among other vague fears, suspecting Omichund of being in league with the enemy, seized and imprisoned him. An attempt was made to capture the person of his brother-in-law, who had taken refuge in the apartments of the women; but the whole of Omichund's peons, to the number of 300, rose in resistance, and the officer in command (a Hindoo of high cast), fearing that some indignity might be sustained by the females, set fire to the harem, and killed no less than thirteen with his own

was an unusual opinion for "Sabut Jung" the daring in war, to form, and it was not a permanent one. Passing away from the meeting, gloomy and dissatisfied, he paced about for an hour beneath the shade of some trees, and, convinced on reflection that the hesitation of Meer Jaffier would give place to re-awakened ambition, he resolved to reverse the decision in which he had so lately concurred; and, returning to the camp, gave orders to make ready for the passage of the river.* The army crossed on the following morning, and, at a little past midnight, took up its position in a grove of mango trees† near Plassy, within a mile of the wide-spread camp of the enemy.

The sound of drums and cymbals kept Clive waking all night; and Surajah Dowlah, overpowered by vague fears and gloomy apprehensions, passed the remaining hours of darkness in upbraiding and complaint.‡ At sunrise his army, marshalled in battle array, commenced moving towards the grove in which the English were posted. The plain seemed alive with multitudes of infantry, supported by troops of cavalry, and bearing with them fifty pieces of ordnance of great size, drawn by long teams of white oxen, and propelled by elephants arrayed in scarlet cloth and embroidery. Beside these, were some smaller but more formidable guns, under the direction of Frenchmen.§ The force to oppose this mighty host numbered, in all, only 3,000 men, but of these nearly 1,000 were English. Conspicuous in the ranks were the men of the 39th regiment, who that day added to the inscriptions on their colours the name of Plassy, and the motto, *Primus in India*. Of hard fighting there was but little; treachery supplied its place. The action began by a distant cannonade, in which some of the few officers, still true to a falling cause, perished by the skilfully-directed fire of the "hat-wearers," who, says Hussein Gholam Khan, "have no equals in the art of firing their artillery and musketry with both order and rapidity."|| Several hours were spent in this manner.

* This is the account given by Orme, who probably heard the circumstances from Clive himself. Scrafton attributes the colonel's change of mind to a letter received from Meer Jaffier in the course of the day.—(*Reflections*, p. 85.)

† Regularly planted groves or woods of tall fruit trees are very common in India: that of Plassy was a square of about two miles in circuit; but it has been neglected, and is now much diminished.

‡ The despondency of the nabob, says Orme, increased as the hour of danger approached. His attendants, by some carelessness left his tent un-

At length Meer-meden, one of the two chief leaders of the adverse force, was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball. He was carried to the tent of the prince, and expired while explaining the arrangements he had made for the battle. Driven to desperation by witnessing the death of his faithful servant, Surajah Dowlah summoned Meer Jaffier to his presence, and bade him revenge the death of Meer-meden; at the same time, placing his own turban at the foot of his treacherous relative—the most humiliating supplication a Mohammedan prince could offer—he besought him to forget past differences, and to stand by the grandchild of his benefactor (Ali Verdi Khan), now that his life, his honour, and his throne, were all at stake. Meer Jaffier replied to this appeal by treacherously advising immediate retreat into the trenches; and the fatal order was issued, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrance of the Hindoo general, Mohun Lall, who predicted the utter confusion which would ensue. Meer Jaffier had unsuccessfully endeavoured to convey a letter to Clive, advising the immediate attack of the nabob's camp; now, perceiving the fortune of the day decided, he remained, as before, stationary with his division of the army, amid the general retreat. Surajah Dowlah, on witnessing the inaction of so large a part of the force, comprehended at once his betrayal; and on beholding the English advancing, mounted a camel and fled to Moorshedabad, accompanied by 2,000 horsemen. In fact, no other course remained to one incapable of taking the lead in his own person; for to such an extent had division spread throughout the Mohammedan troops, that no officer, even if willing to fight for his rightful master, could rely on the co-operation of any other commander. The little band of Frenchmen alone strove to confront the English, but were rapidly carried away by the tide of fugitives. Of the vanquished, 500 were slain. The conquerors lost but twenty-two killed and fifty wounded; they gained not merely the usual spoils of war in guarded, and a common person, either through ignorance, or with a view to robbery, entered unperceived. The prince, at length recognising the intruder, started from the gloomy reflections in which he had been absorbed, and recalled his servants with the emphatic exclamation,—“Sure they see me dead!”—(*Military Transactions*, i., 172.)

§ Orme states the force of the enemy at 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, and fifty pieces of cannon. Clive says 35,000 foot, 15,000 horse, and forty pieces of cannon.—(*Letter to Secret Committee of E. I. Cy.*)

|| *Sigâr ul Mutâkherin*, i., 766.

abundance—baggage and artillery-waggons, elephants and oxen—but paramount authority over a conquered province, larger and more populous than their native country.

The conduct of Meer Jaffier had been by no means unexceptionable, even in the sight of his accomplices. He had played for a heavy stake with a faltering hand—a species of cowardice for which Clive had no sympathy; nevertheless, it was expedient to overlook all minor occasions of quarrel at this critical moment, and proclaim the traitor subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Meer Jaffier marched to Moorsshedabad. Surajah Dowlah learned his approach with a degree of terror that prevented him from forming any plan of defence: deserted on all sides, he strove to conciliate the alienated affections of the military commanders by lavish gifts; and at length, after balancing between the advice given by his counsellors—to throw himself upon the mercy of the English, or again try the fortune of war—he renounced both attempts, and accompanied by his consort, his young daughter, and several other females, quitted the palace at dead of night, carrying with him a number of elephants laden with gold, jewels, and baggage of the most costly description.* Had he proceeded fearlessly by land in the broad daylight, it is possible that many of the local authorities would have rallied round his standard; but instead of taking a bold course, he embarked in some boats for Plassy, hoping to be able to effect a junction with a party of the French under M. Law, who, at the time of the battle of Patna, was actually marching to his assistance. This proceeding removed all obstacles from the path of Meer Jaffier, and his installation was performed with as much pomp as circumstances would permit. At the last moment, either from affected humility or a misgiving as to the dangerous and trouble-

some nature of power treacherously usurped, he hesitated and refused to take possession of the sumptuously-adorned musnud, or pile of cushions, prepared for him. Clive, having vainly tried persuasion, took his hand, and placing him on the throne, kept him down by the arm while he presented the customary homage—a nuzzur, or offering of gold mohurs, on a salver. The act was sufficiently significative; thenceforth the subahdars of Bengal existed in a degree of dependence on the foreign rulers by whom they were nominated, with which that formerly paid to the most powerful of the Great Moguls bears no comparison.

This public ceremonial was followed by a private meeting among the confederates to divide the spoil. Whether the extravagance of Surajah Dowlah, during his fifteen months' sway, had exhausted a treasury previously drained by Mahratta wars and subsidies, or whether Meer Jaffier and his countrymen succeeded in outwitting their English associates, and secretly possessed themselves of the lion's share,† remains an open question; but it appears that the funds available, amounted only to 150 lacs of rupees—a sum far short of that which had been reckoned upon in the arrangement previously made. One large claim was repudiated in a very summary manner. When Meer Jaffier, and the few persons immediately concerned in the plot, adjourned to the house of Juggut Seit, to settle the manner of carrying out the treaty, Omichund followed as a matter of course. He had no suspicion of the deceit practised upon him; for “Clive, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had, up to that day, treated him with undiminished kindness.”‡ Not being invited to take his seat on the carpet, Omichund, in some surprise, withdrew to the lower part of the hall, and waited till he should be summoned to join the conference.§

* Orme says that Surajah Dowlah escaped by night from a window of the palace, accompanied only by a favourite concubine and a eunuch; but Gholam Hussein, who, besides his usual accuracy, may be expected to be well informed on the subject, makes the statements given in the text, and confirms them by much incidental detail.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 7; see also Scott's *Bengal*, n., 371.)

† The interpreter of Clive—a renegade Frenchman, called Mustapha, who translated the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*—states in a note (i., 773), that the English never suspected the existence of an inner treasury said to contain eight crores (eight million sterling), kept, in pursuance of a custom common in India, in the zenana or women's apartments. In corroboration, various circumstances are adduced in the history

of the individuals whom he asserts to have been participants in the secret, to prove their having derived immense wealth from some hidden source. Among others Mini Begum, the favourite wife of Meer Jaffier Khan, who survived him, possessed an immense fortune, although her husband was constantly involved in disturbances with the soldiery from real or affected inability to discharge their arrears of pay.

‡ Macaulay's *Essay on Clive*, p. 50.

§ Admiral Watson was not of the party. He died in the course of the year of a malignant fever which prevailed on the coast. Captain Brereton, when questioned before parliament regarding the deception practised on Omichund, bore witness that the admiral had stigmatised the conduct of Clive as “dishonourable and iniquitous.”—(Parl. Reports, iii., 151.)

The white treaty was produced and read; its various stipulations (including the utter expulsion of the French from Bengal) were confirmed, and the pecuniary claims of the English met by the immediate payment of one-half—two-thirds in money, and one-third in plate and jewels; the other portion to be discharged in three equal annual payments.*

At length Omichund became uneasy at the total disregard evinced of his presence. On coming forward, he caught sight of the document just read, and exclaimed—"There must be some mistake; the general treaty was on red paper!" Clive, who during his long residence in India never acquired a knowledge of any Indian language, turned to Mr. Srafton, one of the servants of the company, then acting as interpreter, and said—"It is time to undeceive Omichund." This was easily done; the few words in Hindostanee, "The red treaty was a trick, Omichund—you are to have nothing," were soon spoken; but the bystanders could scarcely have been prepared for the result. The Hindoo was avaricious to the heart's core; and this sudden disappointment, aimed at the tenderest point, and aggravated by feelings of anger and humiliation, came like the stroke of death. He swooned, and was carried to his stately home, where, after remaining many hours in a state of the deepest gloom, he began to exhibit symptoms of insanity. Some days after he visited Clive, who, probably unwilling to recognise the full extent of the ruin he had wrought, strove to soothe the old man by promises of procuring favourable terms with the company regarding certain contracts which

he held from them; and even spoke of him, in an official despatch, as "a person capable of rendering great services, and therefore not wholly to be discarded."† This statement is, however, quite incompatible with the description of Orme, who declares that Omichund, after being carried a senseless burthen from the house of Juggut Seit,‡ never rallied, but sank from insanity to idiocy. Contrary to the custom of the aged in Hindostan, and especially to his former habits and strong reason, Omichund, now an imbecile, went about decked in gaudy clothing and costly jewels, until his death, in the course of about eighteen months, terminated the melancholy history. Such a transaction can need no comment, at least to those who believe that in all cases, under all circumstances, a crime is of necessity a blunder.§ In the present instance there could be no second opinion on the point, except as regarded the private interests of the persons concerned in the division of spoil found in the treasury of the deposed prince. The commercial integrity of the English had laid the foundation of the confidence reposed in them by the natives, whether Mohammedan or Hindoo: the alliance of Juggut Seit and other wealthy bankers had been procured chiefly by this means. Omichund, in his endeavours to allay the suspicions of Surajah Dowlah, had declared that the English were famous throughout the world for their good faith, inasmuch that a man in England, who, *on any occasion*, told a lie, was utterly disgraced, and never after admitted to the society of his former friends and ac-

* Clive, in a letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Moorshedabad, 26th July, after giving some details of the battle, says—"The substance of the treaty with the present nabob is as follows:—1st. Confirmation of the mint and all other grants and privileges in the treaty with the late nabob. 2ndly. An alliance, offensive and defensive, against all enemies whatsoever. 3rdly. The French factories and effects to be delivered up, and they never to be permitted to resettle in any of the provinces. 4thly. One hundred lacs (£1,000,000) to be paid to the company in consideration of their losses at Calcutta, and the expenses of the campaign. 5thly. Fifty lacs (£500,000) to be given to the English sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 6thly. Twenty lacs (£200,000) to Gentoos, Moors, &c., black sufferers at the loss of Calcutta. 7thly. Seven lacs (£70,000) to the Armenian sufferers: these three last donations to be distributed at the pleasure of the admiral and gentlemen of the council, including me. 8thly. The entire property of all lands within the Matratta ditch, which runs round Calcutta, to be vested in the company: also 600 yards all round, without the said ditch. 9thly. The company to have the zemindary

of the country to the south of Calcutta, lying between the lake and the river, and reaching as far as Cuipee, they paying the customary rents paid by the former zemindars to the government. 10thly. Whenever the assistance of the English troops shall be wanted, their extraordinary charges to be paid by the nabob. 11thly. No forts to be erected by the government on the river side, from Hooghly downwards." Clive carefully avoided all mention of the separate treaties for the payment of monies in which he had the chief share.—(See Note in ensuing page.)

† *Life of Clive*, i., 289.

‡ The amount of the reward received by Juggut Seit does not appear. If at all in proportion to his previous wealth, it must have been very large. At the time of the plunder of Moorshedabad by the Maharrattas, in 1712, two million and a-half sterling in Arcot rupees were taken from the treasury of himself and his brother; notwithstanding which they continued to grant bills at sight, of one crore each.

§ "Using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia," remarks Macanlay, "Clive committed not merely a crime but a blunder."—(*Essay*, p. 51.)

quaintances.* This invaluable prestige of honest dealing was placed in imminent jeopardy by Clive; and years afterwards, rank and wealth failed to preserve him from learning, with anger and bitter humiliation, that forgery and lying were vices which, in the sight of his countrymen at large, could not be atoned for by the most brilliant successes. With regard to the enormous sums accepted, or, in other words, seized by English officials, both civil and military, from the treasury of Bengal, that also seems to resolve itself into a very simple question. If, like Morari Rao, they had been professed leaders of mercenary troops, selling their services to the highest bidder, there could have been no doubt that, after their own fashion of reasoning, they would have well earned the stipulated reward. But Clive and his compeers were not masters, but servants; the troops under their command were, like themselves, in the pay of the nation or the company; and it was unquestionably from the government or the Court of Directors (to the latter of whom Clive repeatedly affirmed that he "owed everything"),† and from them only, that rewards should have been received.

Years afterwards, when sternly questioned respecting the proceedings of this period, Clive declared that on recollecting the heaps of gold and silver coin piled up in masses, crowned with rubies and diamonds, through which he passed in the treasury of Moorshedabad, he could not but view with surprise his own moderation in only taking (as it appeared)‡ to the extent of twenty to thirty lacs of rupees—that is, between £200,000 and £300,000. This "moderation"§ was, however, of brief continuance; for, some time afterwards, on the plea of desiring means wherewith to maintain a Mogul dignity conferred on him, he intimated to Meer Jaffier the propriety of its being accompanied by a jaghire (or estate for the support of a military contingent.)|| In their relative positions a hint was a command, and the quit-rent paid by the E. I. Cy. for the

extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta, amounting to nearly £30,000 sterling per annum, was forthwith ceded.

To return to the general narrative. Surajah Dowlah and his female companions reached Raj Mahal on the third night after leaving Moorshedabad. Exhausted with fatigue, and famishing with hunger, they landed, took refuge in a deserted garden, and began to prepare a mess of rice and pulse (called *kichery*), the common food of the country. While engaged in this unwonted task, the fugitives were discovered by a man of low condition, whose ears had been cut off by order of Surajah Dowlah a twelvemonth before. Dissembling his vengeful feelings, he affected compassion and respect for the prince, and assisted in the preparation of the meal, but secretly sent word to the soldiers engaged in pursuit where to find the object of their search. At this very time, Law and his detachment were within three hours' march of Raj Mahal; but they were driven from place to place by a party under Major Coote, and eventually expelled from Bengal; while Surajah Dowlah was seized by the emissaries of Meer Jaffier, laden with chains, treated with every species of cruelty compatible with the preservation of life, and dragged through Moorshedabad, to the presence of his successor. It was noon; but Meer Jaffier, though seated on the musnud, had taken his daily dose of bang,¶ and was incapable of giving instructions regarding the treatment of the prisoner. His son Meeran, a lad of about seventeen, took upon himself to decide the question. This mere boy, educated in the harem, and remarkably effeminate both in dress and speech, possessed a heart no less callous to the gentler feelings of humanity than that of an old and unprincipled politician, hardened in the world's ways. "Pity and compassion," he said, "spoilt business." It scarcely needed the murmuring and dissension which pervaded the army, when the capture and ignominious treatment of their late ruler became known, to decide his fate.

bably sympathised with him, for he himself accumulated a fortune of £400,000, chiefly (according to Mr. Watts) by lending money at high interest to the nabob, the chiefs, and managers of provinces—a practice, says Sir John Malcolm, then too common to be considered as in any way discreditable.—(ii., 251.)

|| *Idem* his own evidence before the House of Commons. Such a solicitation was clearly opposed to the duty of a servant of the E. I. Cy. and a Lieutenant-colonel in the British army.—(Parl. Papers, vol. iii., p. 151.)

¶ An intoxicating beverage, made from hemp.

* Orme's *Military Transactions*, ii., 137.

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, i., 182.

‡ Clive cautiously abstained from any explicit statement of the sums acquired by him on various pretences; and his fellow-officials, as far as possible, refrained from acknowledging the extent of his extortions or their own, even when sharply cross-examined before parliament.

§ In a letter addressed to Mr. Pigot, dated August, 1757, Clive speaks of his "genteel competence," and "a possible reverse of fortune," as reasons for desiring to leave Bengal. Mr. Pigot pro-

Meeran caused him to be confined in a small chamber near his own apartments, and then summoning his personal friends, asked which of them would serve the existing administration, by removing the only obstacle to its permanency. One after another peremptorily rejected the dastardly office; at length it was accepted by a man under peculiar obligations to the parents of the destined victim, in conjunction with a favourite servant of Meeran's. On beholding the entrance of the assassins, Surajah Dowlah at once guessed their purpose. "They will not suffer me even to live in obscurity!" he exclaimed; and then requested that water might be provided for the performance of the purification commanded by the Koran before death. A large vessel which stood at hand was emptied rudely over him, and he was hewn down by repeated sabre strokes; "several of which fell," says the Mohammedan historian, "on a face renowned all over Bengal for regularity of feature and sweetness of expression." The memory of a past deed of violence came over the prince in this terrible hour, and he died declaring, in allusion to an officer whom he had tyrannically caused to be executed in the streets of Moorshedabad. "Hussein Kooli, thou art avenged!"*

The morning after this event Meer Jaffier visited Clive, and, in the words of the former, "thought it necessary to palliate the matter on motives of policy." Clive does not appear to have deemed any excuse necessary; but the truth was, his own neglect had been unjustifiable, in not taking precautionary measures to guard at least the life of a ruler deposed by a conspiracy in which the English played the leading part. No effort was made to protect even the female relatives† of the murdered prince from cruel indignities at the hands of Meer Jaffier and his son, and his consort and infant daughter were robbed of all the valuables about them, and sent

* The above account is, as before stated, chiefly derived from the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*. The author is strongly prejudiced against Surajah Dowlah, to whom he was distantly related. He had been taken prisoner in an engagement between this prince and Shaoeat Jung, a rival pretender to the viceroyalty of Bengal, who was slain during a fit of intoxication. The conduct of Surajah Dowlah on this occasion, does not corroborate the statements made by Orme and Stewart of his cruelty and violence, and it is possible that these have been exaggerated; but unhappily, all the evidence comes from one side.

† Surajah Dowlah was five-and-twenty at the time of his assassination. His mother, on beholding the mangled remains dragged past her windows, rushed into the street, without veil or slippers, and clasped the body in her arms, but was forced back with blows.

into confinement in a manner calculated to inflict indelible disgrace on Mohammedan females of rank.

In Calcutta all was triumph and rejoicing. Few stopped to think, amid the excitement created by the tide of wealth fast pouring in, of past calamities or future cares. It was a momentous epoch; the step once taken was irrevocable; the company of traders had assumed a new position—henceforth to be rulers and lawgivers, with almost irresponsible sway over a territory far larger and more populous than their native land. It may be doubted if the directors at home gave much heed to these considerations; their representatives in India certainly did not, each one being fully occupied in gathering the largest possible share of the spoil. The monies stipulated for in restitution of the damage inflicted in Calcutta, with those demanded on behalf of the squadron, army, and committee, amounted to £2,750,000, besides donations to individuals.‡ The company received property to the amount of £1,500,000, and territorial revenues valued by Clive at £100,000 a-year. A fleet of 100 boats, with flags flying and music playing, bore to Fort William £800,000 in coined silver alone, besides plate and jewels, as the first instalment of the promised reward.

Leaving the Bengal functionaries in the enjoyment of wealth and influence, it is necessary to narrate the cotemporary proceedings of the Madras presidency.

AFFAIRS IN THE CARNATIC AND COROMANDEL COAST.—Upon the breaking out of war between Great Britain and France in 1756, the French ministry resolved to strike an important blow in India. A powerful armament was fitted out, and entrusted to the charge of Count Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, who had shared the exile of James II., and was no less noted for personal courage than for strong feelings against England.

‡ The army and navy had £500,000 for their share. Clive coming in, as commander-in-chief, for £20,000. As a member of the *Secret Committee*, he received to the amount of £28,000, the others having £24,000 each; besides which every one of them obtained a special gift from Meer Jaffier: that of Clive is variously stated at from £160,000 to £200,000. The *General Council* (not of the *committee*) received £60,000. Among the individuals who profited largely by what Clive termed the "generosity" of Meer Jaffier, was Mr. Drake, the runaway governor of Calcutta. Lushington (who forged the hand and seal of Admiral Watson) had, Clive stated in reply to parliamentary inquiry, "something very trifling, —about 50,000 rupees."—(Parl. Reports.) The division of the booty occasioned very serious disputes between the army and the navy.

He was accompanied by his own regiment of Irish (1,080 strong), by fifty of the royal artillery, and a great number of officers of distinction. The court of Versailles looked on the success of the expedition as a matter of certainty, and directed the commencement of operations by the siege of Fort St. David. Their anticipated conquests were marred by a remarkable series of disasters. The fleet quitted Brest in May, 1757, and carried with them the infection of a malignant fever then raging in the port. No less than 300 persons died before reaching Rio Janeiro; and from one cause or another delays arose, which hindered the ships from reaching Pondicherry until the end of April, 1758. There new difficulties occurred to obstruct the path of Lally. He had been especially directed to put down, at all hazards, the dissension and venality which prevailed among the French officials, and to compel them to make exertions for the benefit of their employers, instead of the accumulation of private fortunes. The task was at best an onerous one, and Lally set about it with an uncompromising zeal, which, under the circumstances, bordered on indiscretion. Perfectly conversant with the technicalities of his profession, he was wilful and presumptuous: his daring plans, if heartily seconded, might have been crowned with brilliant success; as it was, they met the same fate as those of La Bourdonnais, while he was reserved for a doom more terrible, and equally unmerited. Some of his early measures were, however, attended with success. The English beheld with alarm the overpowering additions made to the force of the rival nation; and when, after a prolonged siege, Fort St. David capitulated, serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Madras. The want of funds alone prevented Lally from making an immediate attack. After vainly endeavouring to raise sufficient supplies on credit, he resolved to direct to their attainment the next operations of the war. The rajah of Tanjore, when hard pressed, in 1751, by the united force of Chunda Sahib and Dupleix, had given a bond for 5,600,000 rupees, which remained unredeemed at Pondicherry. To extort payment of this sum an expedition was now undertaken against Tanjore, and on the march thither, many cruel acts of vio-

* At Kivaloor, the seat of a celebrated pagoda, Lally, in the hope of finding hidden treasures, ransacked the houses, dug up the foundations, dragged the tanks, and carried away the brass idols; but to very little purpose as far as booty was concerned. Six Brahmins lingered about the violated shrines; and

lence were committed.* The rajah, after some resistance, offered to compromise the matter by the payment of a sum much inferior to that required. The French commander was willing to abate his pecuniary demand, provided he should be supplied with 600 cattle for draught and provisions, which were greatly needed for the troops. The rajah refused, on the plea that his religion did not sanction the surrender of kine for the unhallowed uses of Europeans. The impetuous Lally had before excited strong feelings of aversion in the minds of the natives by obliging them to carry burthens for the army, and other services which he enforced promiscuously, without regard to the laws of cast: he now treated the assertion of the rajah as a mere pretext to gain time, similar to those practised upon Chunda Sahib on a previous occasion; therefore, making little allowance for the invariable prolixities of eastern negotiation, he declared that unless an arrangement were forthwith agreed on, the rajah and all his family should be shipped as slaves to the Mauritius. The Hindoos rarely indulge in intemperate language; and the Tanjore prince, stung and astonished by the outrage offered him, resolved to perish sooner than succumb to his insulting foe. At his earnest request, an English detachment was sent from Trichinopoly to his assistance. Lally continued the assault on Tanjore, and had effected a breach, when news arrived that the English fleet, after an indecisive engagement with that of France,† had anchored before Karikal, from whence alone the besieging force could derive supplies. Powder and provisions were both nearly exhausted, and Lally, by the almost unanimous opinion of a council of war, withdrew from Tanjore, and hastened to Pondicherry, with the intention of making a simultaneous attack by sea and land on Madras. This project fell to the ground, owing to the determination of the naval commander to quit India immediately, which, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the local government and the army, he persisted in doing, on the ground that the disablement of the ships, and the disease and diminution of the crews, rendered it imperatively necessary to refit at the Mauritius. Lally thus weakened, directed his next en-

Lally, suspecting that they were spies, caused them all to be shot off from the muzzle of his cannon.—(Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 397.)

† The English suffered most in their shipping; the French in their men.—(Ibid. Owen Cambridge's *Account of the War in India, from 1750 to 1760*, p. 123.)

deavours against Arcot, and succeeded in gaining possession of that place through the artifices of Reza Sahib (now dignified by the French with the title of nabob), who opened a correspondence with the governor placed there by Mohammed Ali, and induced him to make a pretended capitulation, and come over with his troops to the service of the enemy. About the time of entering Arcot, Lally was joined by Bussy. This officer had, by the exercise of extraordinary ability, maintained his position in the court of Salabut Jung, and dexterously threading his way amid the intrigues of the Moham-medan courtiers, headed by the brothers of the subahdar (Nizam Ali and Bassalut Jung), had contrived, with very slender means, to uphold the power of his countrymen in connexion with the ruler they had nominated.* Lally did not, or would not, see that the authority of the French at Hyderabad—that even the important possessions of the Northern Circars, rested almost wholly on the great personal influence of one man; and notwithstanding the arguments and entreaties of Bussy and Salabut Jung, the troops were recalled to Pondicherry. It appears that Lally, having heard of the large sums raised by Dupleix on his private credit, hoped that Bussy might be able to do so likewise; and he listened with mingled surprise and disappointment to the avowal of the generous and high-principled officer, that having never used his influence with the subahdar as a means of amassing wealth, he was altogether incapable of affording any material assistance in pecuniary affairs. The government of Pondicherry declared themselves devoid of the means of maintaining the army, upon which Count d'Estaigne and other leading officers agreed in council, that it was better to die by a musket-ball, under the ramparts of Madras, than by hunger within the walls of Pondicherry, and determined to commence offensive operations by endeavouring to bombard the English settlement, shut up the troops in Fort St. George, pillage the Black Town, and lay waste the surrounding country. The sum of 91,000 rupees was raised for the purpose, of which 60,000 were contributed by Lally himself, and the re-

mainder in smaller sums by members of council and private individuals. The force thus sparsely provided with the sinews of war, consisted of 2,700 European, and 4,000 Indian troops. The English, apprised of the intended hostilities, made active preparations for defence under the veteran general, Lawrence, and their efforts were again favoured by climatorial influences; for the French expedition, though in readiness to leave Pondicherry at the beginning of November, 1758, was prevented by heavy rains from reaching Madras till the middle of December, and this at a crisis when Lally had not funds to secure the subsistence of the troops for a single week. The spoil of the Black Town† furnished means for the erection of batteries, and the subsequent arrival of a million livres from the Mauritius, led to the conversion of the blockade (which was at first alone intended) into a siege; but, either from prudential considerations or disaffection,‡ the officers refused to second the ardour of their commander; and after nine weeks' tarry (during the last fortnight of which the troops had subsisted almost entirely upon some rice and butter captured in two small vessels from Bengal), the approach of an English fleet of six sail, compelled the enemy to decamp by night with all haste. The state of feeling at Pondicherry may be easily conceived from the assertion of Lally, that the disastrous result of the expedition was celebrated by the citizens as a triumph over its unpopular commander. Their ill-founded rejoicings were of brief continuance; scoffing was soon merged in gloomy apprehensions, destined to find a speedy realisation. The arrival of an important accession to the English force, under Colonel Coote, in October, 1759, decided for the time the struggle between France and England for supremacy in India. Wandewash was speedily attacked and carried. Lally, while marching to attempt its recovery, was met and defeated. Bussy placed himself at the head of a regiment, to lead the men to the charge of the bayonet, as the only means of saving the battle; had his horse wounded under him, was abandoned by the troops, and taken prisoner.

* A detailed account of his proceedings occupies a considerable part of Orme's *Military Transactions*.

† No attempt was made to defend the Black Town; but after its seizure by the French, the English perceiving the intemperance and disorder of the hostile troops, strove to profit by the opportunity, and sallied out 600 strong. They were, however, driven back with the loss of 200 men and six officers.

‡ Orme says the former; Lally, in his *Memoirs*, the latter: at the same time he severely censures the plots and whole conduct of the Pondicherry government, declaring, in an intercepted letter, that he "would rather go and command the Kafirs of Madagascar, than remain in this Sodom; which it is impossible but the fire of the English must destroy sooner or later, even though that of heaven should not."

Chittaput, Arcot, Devicotta, Karical, Val-dore, Cuddalore, and other forts, were successively captured; and by the beginning of May, 1760, the French troops were confined to the bounds of Pondicherry, and the English, having received further reinforcements, encamped within four miles of the town. Lally shrank from no amount of danger or fatigue in his exertions to rally the troops and subdue the pervading spirit of mutiny and corruption. As the last chance of upholding the national interest, he resorted to the policy of Dupleix, and looked round for some native power as an auxiliary. The individual on whom he fixed was Hyder Ali,* a soldier of fortune, who had risen to the command of the

Mysoor army. With him Lally concluded an agreement, by which Hyder undertook to furnish a certain quantity of bullocks for the supply of Pondicherry, and to join the French with 3,000 picked horse and 5,000 sepoy. In return he was to receive immediate possession of the fort of Theagur—an important station, about fifty miles from Pondicherry, situate near two of the principal passes in the Carnatic, with, it is alleged, the promise even of Madura and Tinnivelly, in the event of the favourable termination of the war. A detachment of the English army, sent to interrupt the march of the Mysoor troops, was defeated; but, after remaining in the vicinity of Pondicherry about a month, Hyder decamped one night

* The great-grandfather of Hyder Ali was a religious person, named Bhelole, who migrated from the Punjab and settled with his two sons at the town of Alund, 110 miles from Hyderabad. Here he erected a small mosque by charitable contributions, and also what is termed a fakeer's *mokan*—that is a house for the fakeer, who attends at the mosque and procures provisions for the use of the worshippers. By this speculation, Bhelole raised some property, but not sufficient to support the families of his sons, who left him and obtained employment at Sera as revenue peons. One of these, named Mohammed Ali, left a son called Futteh, who having distinguished himself for bravery, was promoted to be a Naik or commander of twenty peons. From this position he gradually rose to eminence, and married a lady of a rank superior to his own. The circumstances attending this union were altogether of a romantic character. The father of the lady was robbed and murdered near the borders of Bednore while traversing the peninsula. His widow and two daughters begged their way to Colar, where they were relieved from further difficulty by Hyder Naik, who married both the sisters in succession—a practice not forbidden by the Mohammedan law. Two sons, of whom the younger was the famous Hyder Ali, were born to the second wife, and they had respectively attained the age of nine and seven years, when their father was slain in upholding the cause of the Mohammedan noble whom he served, against the pretensions of a rival candidate for one of the minor Decani governments in 1728. The patron of Hyder Naik was defeated and slain; the family of the latter fell into the hands of the victor, and on pretence of a balance due from the deceased to the revenues of the province, a sum of money was extorted from his heirs by cruel and ignominious tortures, applied to both the lads, and even, Colonel Wilks supposes, to the widow herself. Hyder Ali waited thirty-two years for an opportunity of revenge; and then, as will be shown in a subsequent page, grasped it with the avidity of a man retaliating an injury of yesterday. Meanwhile his mother, being permitted to depart after having, in the words of her grandson, Tippoo Sultan, "lost everything but her children and her honour," sought refuge among her own kindred. Through the influence of a maternal uncle, the elder boy was received into the service of a Hindoo officer of rank, and gradually rose to a respectable position; but Hyder Ali attained the age of twenty-

seven without entering on any profession, in utter ignorance of the first elements of reading and writing, absent from home for weeks together on some secret expedition of voluptuous riot, or passing, as was the custom of his whole life, to the opposite extreme of rigid abstinence and excessive exertion—wandering in the woods in pursuit of wild beasts, himself hardly less ferocious. At length he thought fit to join his brother's corps as a volunteer on a special occasion, and having attracted the attention of Nunjeraj by his singular bravery and self-possession, he was at once placed in command of some troops, and from that time acquired power by rapid steps. The authority of the Mysoor state then rested wholly in the hands of Nunjeraj and his brother Deoraj; but the death of the latter, and the incapacity of the former, induced an attempt on the part of the rajah to become a king in reality as well as name. Hyder at one time sided with, at another against, the rajah, his object in both cases being purely selfish. An invasion of Mysoor by the Mahrattas, in 1759, contributed to his aggrandisement, by giving scope for the exercise of his warlike abilities; but he played a desperate game; for the queen-mother, perceiving his daring temper, dreaded to find her son released from the hands of one usurper only to fall into worse custody, and laid a scheme, in conjunction with a Mahratta chief, for the destruction of Hyder Ali, who was then engaged at a distance from court. Hyder escaped with difficulty, and having travelled ninety-eight miles in twenty hours (the first seventy-five on the same horse), reached Bangalore, the fort and district of which had been given him shortly before as a personal jaghire, just in time to preceed the orders sent by the rajah to close the gates against him. The strength of the Mahrattas was shattered by the disastrous battle of Paniput, in 1760; the exhausting strife of the European power in the Carnatic precluded their interference; and Hyder found means to reduce his nominal master to the condition of a state pensioner, and then looked round for further food for ambition. As an illustration of the cruelty of his nature, it is related that when after the successful termination of the rebellion, Kunder Rao, the brave and faithful general of the rajah, was surrendered to the conqueror with an earnest supplication for kind treatment, Hyder replied, that he would not only spare his life, but cherish him like a paroquet; and the miserable captive was accordingly confined in an iron cage, and fed on rice and milk.

with his whole force, on account of internal proceedings which threatened the downfall of his newly-usurped authority in Mysoor. The English, so soon as the rains had ceased, actively besieged Pondicherry. Insubordination, dissension, and privation of every description * seconded their efforts within the walls. Lally himself was sick and worn out with vexation and fatigue. The garrison surrendered at discretion in January, 1760,† and the council of Madras lost no time in levelling its fortifications with the ground.‡

The consequences predicted by Bussy, from his compulsory abandonment of Salabut Jung, had already ensued. An expedition from Bengal, fitted out by the English against the Northern Circars, had wrested from the French these important possessions. Mahé and its dependencies on the Malabar coast had been likewise attacked, and reduced a few months before the fall of Pondicherry. Theagur capitulated after a feeble resistance; and the capture of the strong fort of Jinjee in April, 1761, completed the triumph of the English, and left the French without a single military post in India.

The storm of popular indignation at this disastrous state of affairs was artfully directed upon the devoted head of Lally. On his return to France the ministry, seconded by the parliament of Paris, threw him into the Bastille, and on various frivolous pretexts he was condemned to die the death of a traitor and a felon. Errors of judgment, arrogance, and undue severity might with justice have been ascribed to Lally; but on the opposite

side of the scale ought to have been placed uncompromising fidelity to the nation and company he served, and perfect disinterestedness, together with the uninterrupted exercise of energy united to military talents. It is related that he confidently anticipated a triumphant issue to the proceedings instituted against him, and was seated in his dungeon sketching a chart of the Coromandel coast, when tidings of the fatal sentence arrived. "Is this the reward of forty-five years of faithful service?" he exclaimed; and snatching up a pair of compasses, strove to drive them to his heart. The bystanders prevented the fulfilment of this criminal attempt, and left to the representatives of the French nation the disgrace of perpetrating what Voltaire boldly denounced as "a murder committed with the sword of justice." A few hours after his condemnation, Lally, then in the sixty-fifth year of his age, was dragged in a dirty dung-cart through the streets of Paris to the scaffold, a gag being thrust in his mouth to prevent any appeal to the sympathies of the populace.

La Bourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally, were successive victims to the ingratitude of the French company. Bussy was more fortunate. Upon his capture by the English he was immediately released on parole, greatly to the dismay and disappointment of Mohammed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic. He subsequently returned to France, and, strengthened by an aristocratic marriage (with the niece of the Duc de Choiseul), lived to enjoy a high reputation and a con-

* When famine prevailed to an increasing extent in Pondicherry, Lally strove to prolong the defence by sending away the few remaining cavalry, at the risk of capture by the English; by returning all prisoners under a promise not to serve again; and also by expelling the mass of the native inhabitants, to the number of 1,400, without distinction of sex or age. The wretched multitude wandered in families and companies to various points, and sometimes strove to force a path through the hosts of the enemy, or back within the gates from which they had been expelled, meeting on either side death from the sword or the bullet. For eight days the outcasts continued to traverse the circumscribed space between the fortifications and the English encampment, the scant-spread roots of grass affording their sole means of subsistence. At length the English commander suffered the survivors to pass; and though they had neither home nor friends in prospect, deliverance from sufferings more prolonged, if less intense, than those endured in the Black-Hole, was hailed with rapturous gratitude.—(Orme, ii., 699.) An episode like this speaks volumes on the unjustifiable character of a war, between civilised and Christian nations, which is liable to subject heathen populations to calamities so direful and unprovoked.

† The departure of Lally for Madras was marked by a scene of a most discreditable character. The French officers raised a shout of derision, as their late commander passed along the parade a worn and dejected prisoner, and would have proceeded to violence but for the interference of his English escort. The same reception awaited Dubois, the king's commissary. He stopped and offered to answer any accusation that might be brought forward, upon which a man came forth from among the crowd and drew his sword. Dubois did the same: he was of advanced age, with the additional infirmity of defective sight; and the second pass laid him dead at the feet of his antagonist. The catastrophe was received with applause by the bystanders, and not one of them would even assist the servant of the deceased in the removal of the body. The unpopularity of Dubois originated in his energetic protests against the disorder and venality of the local government.

‡ A sharp dispute took place between the officers of the crown and of the company. Colonel Coote claimed Pondicherry for the nation; Mr. Pigot on behalf of his employers; and the latter gentleman being able to enforce his arguments by refusing to advance money for the payment of the troops, unless the point was conceded, gained the day.—(Orme, i., 724.)

siderable fortune. The company itself was soon extinguished,* and the power of the nation in India became quite inconsiderable.

AFFAIRS OF BENGAL RESUMED FROM 1757.

—The first important danger which menaced the duration of Meer Jaffier's usurped authority, was the approach of the Shah-zada or heir-apparent to the throne of Delhi, who having obtained from his father formal investiture as subahdar of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, now advanced to assert his claims by force of arms. The emperor (Alumgeer II.) was at this period completely in the power of his intriguing vizier, Shaab or Ghazi-oo-deen (the grandson of the famous nizam); and the prince had only escaped the toils of the imperious minister by cutting his way, sword in hand, with half-a-dozen followers, through the body of guards stationed to retain him a close prisoner within his own palace. The spirit manifested by this daring exploit did not characterise his after career, for he proved quite incapable of grappling with the many difficulties which beset his path. The governors or nabobs of Allahabad and Oude, both virtually independent powers, supported his cause at the onset; and the prince further endeavoured to obtain the support of the English by large promises. His offers were declined, and active co-operation with Meer Jaffier resolved on. The Shah-zada and his adherents advanced to Patna; but the treachery of the nabob of Oude, in taking advantage of the privilege accorded him of a safe place for his family, to seize the fortress of Allahabad, compelled the ruler of that province to march back for the protection or recovery of his own dominions.† The result of their disunion was to bereave the Shah-zada of friends and resources. In this position he solicited a sum of money from the English general in requital for the abandonment of his pretensions in Bengal, and £1,000 were forwarded to the impoverished descendant of a powerful dynasty. Through the influence of Shaab-oo-deen,

the emperor was compelled to sign a *sunmud* (edict or commission), transferring the empty title of subahdar of Bengal to his second son, and confirming Meer Jaffier in all real power, under the name of his deputy. Upon this occasion Clive obtained the rank of a lord of the empire, which afforded him a pretext for extorting a jaghire amounting to £30,000 per annum; although, at the very time, the treasury of Bengal was almost exhausted, and the soldiers of the province clamorous for arrears of pay: and moreover, so doubtful a complexion had the alliance between the English and Meer Jaffier already assumed, that immediately after the departure of the Shah-zada, the nabob was suspected of intriguing with a foreign power for the expulsion of his well-beloved coadjutors. The Bengal presidency learned with alarm the approach of a great armament fitted out by the Dutch at Batavia. Seven ships ascended the Hooghly to within a few miles of Calcutta, where 700 European and 800 Malay soldiers disembarked, with the avowed intention of marching thence to the Dutch settlement of Chinsura. England and Holland were at peace; but Clive, notwithstanding the absence of any hostile manifestation on the part of the newly-arrived force, obtained from the nabob a direct contradiction to the encouragement he had previously given, and a positive order for the Dutch to leave the river.‡ An English detachment was sent to intercept the march of the troops to Chinsura, but the officer in command (Colonel Forde) hesitated about proceeding to extremities, and sent to headquarters for explicit instructions. Clive was engaged at the card-table when the message arrived. Tearing off a slip from the letter just presented to him, he wrote in pencil: "Dear Forde,—Fight 'em immediately, and I'll send an order of council to-morrow." Forde obeyed, and succeeded in completely routing the enemy, so that of the 700 Europeans, not above fourteen reached Chinsura, the rest being either taken pri-

* French trade with India was laid open in 1770; but in 1785 a new company was incorporated, and lasted until 1790, when its final abolishment, at the expiration of two years, was decreed by the National Assembly.—(Macpherson, pp. 275—284.)

† The Allahabad ruler, while marching homeward, was met by M. Law with a French detachment, and entreated to return to the Shah-zada and assist in besieging Patna, which, it was urged, would occasion but a very slight delay. The proposition was rejected; the nabob continued his march, but being eventually persuaded by the rival subahdar to trust to his generosity, was made prisoner and put to death.

‡ The dominant influence of Clive is illustrated by an anecdote recorded in the *Siyar ul Mutakherin*. A fray having taken place between the soldiers of Clive and those of one of the oldest and most attached adherents of Meer Jaffier, the nabob reproached his officer for what had occurred, exclaiming, "Have you yet to learn in what position heaven has placed this Colonel Clive?" The accused replied, that so far from seeking a pretext of quarrel with the colonel, he "never rose in the morning without making three profound bows to his jackass;"—a speech which Scott (*History of the Deccan*, ii., 376) explains as meant in allusion to the nabob himself.

soners or slain. The attack upon the ships was equally successful, the whole being captured. After this heavy blow, the Dutch, to save their settlements in Bengal from total destruction, made peace with their powerful opponents by paying the expenses of the war; while Clive, aware of the irregularity of his proceedings,* facilitated the termination of the dispute by the restoration of the captured vessels in December, 1759. Early in the following year he resigned the government of Bengal, and sailed for England.

It has been asserted that Clive never suffered his personal interests to interfere with those of his employers. Had this been the truth, he would certainly not have quitted India at so critical a period for the E. I. Cy. as the year 1760. It was not age (for he was yet but five-and-thirty) nor failing strength (for he declared himself "in excellent health") that necessitated his departure; neither is it easy to find any less selfish reasons than a desire to place and enjoy in safety his immense wealth, leaving those at whose expense it had been accumulated to bear alone the brunt of the impending storm. His opinion of Meer Jaffier was avowedly changed; for though he continued personally to address him as the most munificent of princes, yet in his semi-official correspondence with his own countrymen, the "generally esteemed" individual of two years ago, becomes an "old man, whose days of folly are without number." The English in general attributed to the ruler of their own nomination every vice previously alleged against Surajah Dowlah. It was urged, that whatever soldierly qualifications he might have possessed in the days of Ali Verdi Khan, had passed with the vigour of youth, leaving him indolent and incapable; but easily carried away by unfounded suspicions to perpetrate, or at least sanction, deeds of midnight assassination against innocent and defenceless persons of either sex.† A native authority‡ describes Meer Jaffier as taking a childish delight in sitting, decked with costly jewels, on the musnud, which he disgraced by habitual intoxication,

* He remarked, with regard to these transactions, that "a public man may occasionally be called upon to act with a halter round his neck."

† The infant brother or nephew of Surajah Dowlah, on the accession of Meer Jaffier, is stated to have been murdered by being pressed to death between pieces of wood used in packing bales of shawls.

‡ *Siyar ul Mutaakherin*, ii., 19.

§ Clive calls him "a worthless young dog," and

as well as by profligacy of the most unseemly description. The English he feared and hated, but lacked energy and ability to offer any systematic opposition to their encroachments. The leading Hindoos became objects of aversion to him on account of their intimate connexion with the powerful foreigners, and plots were laid for the destruction of several individuals, with varying success. The chief instigator of these intrigues was Meeran, the heir-apparent, who, in spite of the inexperience of youth and a merciless disposition, possessed a degree of energy and perseverance which, together with strong filial affection, rendered him the chief support of his father's throne.§ The "chunta" (little or young) nabob and the English regarded one another with scarcely disguised distrust. The Begum (or princess), the mother of Meeran, betrayed excessive anxiety for the safety of her only son; and although her affectionate intercessions were treated with contemptuous disdain by the servants of the company, they were far from being uncalled for; since it needed no extraordinary foresight to anticipate that the ill-defined claims, and especially the right of interference in every department of the native government asserted by the English, must end either in their assumption of all power, in name as in reality, or, it was just possible, in their total expulsion from the province.

Clive had quite made up his mind on the matter; and while receiving immense sums from the nabob on the one hand, and the wages of the E. I. Cy. on the other, he addressed a letter from Calcutta, as early as January, 1759, to Mr. Pitt, urging upon him the necessity of affairs in Bengal being viewed as a national question, and a sufficient force sent forthwith "to open a way for securing the subahship to ourselves." The Mogul would, he added, willingly agree to this arrangement in return for a pledge for the payment of fifty laes annually—a sum which might be easily spared out of revenues amounting to £2,000,000 sterling; and as to Meer Jaffier, there need be no scruple on his account, since he, like all other Mussulmans, was so little influenced by gratitude,

asserts his belief that he would one day attempt the overthrow of the nabob, blaming "the old fool" at the same time severely for "putting too much power in the hands of his nearest relations;" but there is no evidence to warrant his assertion: on the contrary, Gholam Hussein Khan, though strongly prejudiced against both father and son, gives repeated evidence of the unbroken confidence which subsisted between them.—(*Life*, ii., 104; *Siyar*, ii., 86.)

as to be ready to break with his best friends the moment it suited his interests, while Meeran was "so apparently the enemy of the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession."*

This communication was forwarded to Mr. Pitt by Mr. Walsh, the secretary of Clive. In relating the discussion which followed its presentation, Mr. Walsh writes, that the able minister expressed his views a little darkly (or probably very cautiously) on the subject; mentioned that the company's charter would not expire for twenty years; and stated that it had been recently inquired into, whether the conquests in India belonged to the company or the Crown, and the judges seemed to think to the company; but, he added, "the company were not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such a revenue would endanger our liberties;" therefore Clive showed "good sense by the suggested application of it to the public."

Here the question dropped for the time, and Clive returned to England, apparently before learning the result of his memorial, and at a time when events of the first importance were taking place.†

The Shah-zada, at the invitation of certain influential nobles of Patna, had already renewed hostilities, when Clive and Forde quitted the country in February, 1760. In the previous December an English detachment, under Colonel Calliaud, had been sent from Calcutta to Moorshedabad, and this force, in conjunction with 15,000 horse and foot, under command of Meeran, marched in the following month to oppose the Mogul prince. Meanwhile the powerful king of the Doorani Afghans was again on his way to ravage Hindoostan. Shaab-oo-deen, the vizier of the pageant-emperor, Alungeer II., aware of the strangely-assorted friendship which existed between his ill-used master and Ahmed Shah, caused the former to be assassinated, and seated another puppet on the throne. The Shah-zada had entered Bahar, when tidings of the tragical end of his father

reached the camp. He assumed the title of Alum Shah, and secured the alliance of Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, by the promise of the vizierat; conferred on Nujeeb-ad-Dowlah (an able Rohilla chief, staunchly attached to the imperial family) the dignity of ameer-ool-omra;‡ and, with the assistance of these leaders, assembled a considerable force. An engagement took place near Patna, between his troops and those of Meeran and the English. The emperor was defeated, and fled to Bahar, where he continued to maintain a feeble contest until the campaign was abruptly concluded by the death of one of the parties chiefly concerned in its results. A heavy storm commenced on the night of the 2nd of July, and Meeran, the better to escape its violence, quitted his spacious tent for one of less size, lower, and of greater strength. According to eastern usage, a story-teller stationed himself beside the prince, striving to soothe the unquiet spirit to repose, while a domestic chafed his limbs, with the same view of inducing sleep. Fierce thunder-claps long continued to break over the encampment, alternating with vivid flashes of lightning. The fury of the elements at last abated, and some attendants, whose turn it was to keep guard, entered and beheld with dismay the lifeless bodies of Meeran and his companions, all three having perished by the same stroke. Colonel Calliaud considered it impolitic to publish the catastrophe, lest the consequence should be the immediate dispersion of the army of the deceased; he therefore, after certain necessary precautions, caused the body to be dressed, as if alive, and placed on an elephant; marched to Patna with all possible expedition, and distributed the troops in winter quarters. It is scarcely possible to avoid attributing the fate of Meeran to an act of Divine retribution, so cruel and bloodthirsty had been his brief career.§ The previous month had added to the list of victims sacrificed by his father and himself, two aged princesses, the surviving daughters of Ali

* *Life*, ii. 120—122. The succession of Meeran had, it should be borne in mind, been one of the primary conditions made by Meer Jaffier with Clive.

† Mr. Serafton, in a letter to Clive, states that Meeran, on one occasion, became so excited by the partiality evinced towards a Hindoo governor (Roydullub) who was known to be disaffected to him, that he declared, unless an express guarantee of safety should be given, he would leave Moorshedabad with those who were faithful to him, and, if necessary, fight his way to the nabob, who was then at Patna. Serafton adds, that the "old Begum sent for Petens the Armenian interpreter for the company), and fell a

blubbing, saying that she had but that son, and could not spare him."—(*Malcolm's Life*, i., 349.)

‡ See previous section on Mogul empire, p. 177.

§ Upon examination, five or six holes were found on the back part of his head, and on his body streaks like the marks of a whip. A scimitar which lay on the pillow above his head had also holes in it, and part of the point was melted. The tent pole appeared as if rotted. Yet, notwithstanding these indications, a rumour arose that the death of Meeran had been caused by the English; and to this unfounded accusation Burke alludes in his famous speech on opening the charges against Warren Hastings.

Verdi Khan; and among his papers was found a list of the names of persons whom he had resolved to cut off at the conclusion of the campaign; determined, as he said, "to rid himself of the disloyal, and sit down in repose with his friends."

The death of Meeran was a terrible blow to his father. The slight barrier which had heretofore in some measure kept down the arrogance and extortion of the English functionaries, and likewise the clamours of the unpaid native troops being now removed, the nabob was left alone to bear, in the weakness of age and intellect, the results of his unhallowed ambition. Clive, with others who had largely benefited by sharing its first-fruits, had gone to enjoy the wealth thus acquired under the safeguard of a free constitution; and their successors would, it was probable, be inclined to look to the expedient of a new revolution as the best possible measure for their private interests, as well as those of their employers. The excitement attendant on the payment of the chief part of the stipulated sums to the Bengal treasury, had before this time given place to depression; that is, so far as the public affairs of the company were concerned. Individuals had accumulated, and were still accumulating large fortunes, to which, in a pecuniary sense, no drawback was attached; but the general trade was in a much less flourishing condition. On being first acquainted with the extent of money and territory ceded by Meer Jaffier, (of which, it may be remarked, Clive gave a very exaggerated account,) the directors sent out word that no supplies would be sent by them to India for several ensuing seasons, as the Bengal treasury would, it was expected, be well able to supply the civil and military exigences of the three presidencies, to provide European investments, and even to make provision for the China trade. This was so far from being the case, that in less than two years after the deposition of Meer Jaffier, "it was found necessary to take up money at interest, although large sums had been received besides for bills upon the Court of Directors."* The distress created in England by these drafts was very great; and even in the year 1758, the holders were with difficulty prevailed upon to grant further time for their liquidation.

The payment of the English troops engaged in repelling the attempts of the Shah-

zada, presented an additional difficulty. It had been thought that the stipulated sum of one lac of rupees (£10,000) per month, would amply cover their expenditure; but experience proved that amount insufficient to provide for the exigences of the augmented establishment thereby necessitated, even had the money been regularly paid; instead of which, the nabob was greatly in arrears at the time of Clive's departure.

In fact, his own forces were so costly and extensive, that it is alleged they were alone sufficient to absorb the entire revenue. The death of Meeran was quickly followed by an alarming mutiny. The palace was surrounded, the walls sealed, and Meer Jaffier threatened with instant death unless the claims of the really distressed troops were liquidated. Meer Cossim, who had married the only surviving legitimate child of the nabob, interfered for his protection, and brought about an arrangement by the advance of three lacs from his own treasury, and a promise of the balance due in a stated period.

Mr. Vansittart arrived to fill the position of governor of Bengal in July, 1760. An empty treasury; a quarrelsome and dictatorial council; unpaid and disorderly troops; the provision of an investment actually suspended;—these were some of the difficulties which awaited him.† Mr. Holwell, while in the position of temporary governor, had suggested to his fellow-officials, that the cruelty and incapacity of Meer Jaffier justified his abandonment, and proposed that they should change sides—accept the reiterated offers of the emperor, and make common cause with him. This project was rejected; but the necessity for some decisive measure being pretty generally agreed upon, it was at length resolved to offer Meer Cossim Ali the limited degree of real power still residing in the person of the nabob, on condition of the title and a fixed income being left with Meer Jaffier, and certain additional concessions made to the English.

Mr. Vansittart acquiesced in the scheme formed by Mr. Holwell and the select committee. One or two members of the general council, when the intended change was first hinted at, dissented on the ground that the incapacity of Meer Jaffier was itself favourable to the interests of the company; but the urgent need of fresh supplies of funds to meet increased expenditure, combined per-

upwards of £200,000 per ann.; while the net revenue did not exceed £80,000—(p. 97.)

† Vansittart's *Letter to E. I. Proprietors*, p. 13.

* Vansittart's *Narrative of Transactions in Bengal*, i., 22. The same authority states, that in 1760 the military and other charges in Bengal amounted to

haps with less easily avowed motives on the part of certain influential persons overpowered this reasoning, and a treaty was entered into by the governor and select committee with Meer Cossim, by which he agreed to assign to the English the revenues of the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, in discharge of the balance due from his father-in-law. On the night on which the articles were signed, Meer Cossim tendered to Mr. Vansittart a note for the payment of twenty lacs of rupees to the five members of the select committee. Considering the large sums extorted from Meer Jaffier on a previous occasion, it was only natural to expect some similar instance of "munificence" in the present case; though, from the impoverished state of the revenues, the amount must of necessity be greatly inferior. The note was, however, returned, and the governor and committee, if they had not the self-denial wholly to reject the tempting offer, displayed at least a sufficient regard to decorum to refuse accepting any portion of it, until Meer Cossim should be seated in security on the musnud, and all the conditions of the treaty fulfilled. In the meantime they appear to have made no private agreement whatever; but, in lieu of it, to have asked a contribution of five lacs for the company, which was immediately paid and employed in aid of the operations then in progress against the French at Pondicherry.

The deposition of Meer Jaffier was effected with so much ease, that on the evening of the day on which it took place, a stranger entering Moorshedabad would scarcely have suspected the revolution that had so recently occurred. When first informed of his intended supercession, the nabob manifested an unexpected degree of energy—declared that his son, Meeran, had warned him what would happen, and even threatened to oppose force by force, and abide his fate. But this was the mere effervescence of im-

potent rage. The palace was surrounded by English troops, and he possessed few, if any, on whose fidelity reliance could be placed; besides which, so "general a disaffection against his government, and detestation of his person and principles, prevailed in the country amongst all ranks and classes of people," that Mr. Vansittart declared, "it would have been scarcely possible for the old nabob to have saved himself from being murdered, or the city from plunder, another month."^{*}

Scarcity alike of money and provisions began to be painfully felt throughout Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Moorshedabad, once the seat of unparalleled abundance, had become the abode of poverty-stricken multitudes; while Patna, exposed for two years to the ravages of the imperial forces, and threatened with renewed invasion, instead of furnishing, as in times of peace, vast stores of rice, was now almost a wilderness. Amid this wide-spread misery, the man from whom aid was expected continued to lavish sums extorted by oppression on favourites of the most unworthy character; and pleasures (if they deserve that name) of the most disreputable description. The measure of his iniquities was filled by the sanction or direction given by him, in conjunction with Meeran, for the midnight assassination of Gassitee Begum and Amina Begum,† which, in the case of the former princess, was an act of peculiar ingratitude as well as cruelty, since she had been extremely useful to him during the fifteen months' sway of her nephew, Surajah Dowlah. It must be remembered, that Colonel Clive had viewed the assassination of that prince with utter indifference; and it is the less to be wondered at that so sanguinary a commencement having passed uncensured, Meer Jaffier should have allowed his son to follow out the same course until he was cut off as one who, though unscathed by human laws, yet "vengeance suffereth not to live." The

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 100—138.

† Among the reasons stated by the governor and committee for the deposition of Meer Jaffier, was a massacre committed by his orders at Dacca in June, 1760, in which the mother of Surajah Dowlah, his aunt, his widow and daughter, and a boy adopted into the family, were taken from prison at midnight and drowned, together with seventy persons of inferior note. Such wholesale slaughter as this, if actually perpetrated, would have cast into the shade even the enormities which formed the steps to the Mogul throne; yet it does not seem that any official inquiry was instituted in the matter. So hardened do the minds of Europeans become by familiarity to

the worst features of despotism, that Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Smyth, the three dissenting members of council, in their minute complaining of not having been duly consulted regarding the recent measures adopted by the select committee, positively palliate the charges brought against Meer Jaffier as cruelties which would appear shocking to a civilised government, but which were common to all despotic ones. In fact, the transaction, infamous as it really was, had been greatly magnified; for in October, 1765, it was officially stated by the government of Bengal, that of the five principal victims named above, only two had perished; the rest had been kept in confinement, and were subsequently set at liberty. (Thornton's

death of Meeran formed a new feature in the complicated question upon which Mr. Vansittart was called upon to decide. The prince was well known to have been the chief counsellor and abettor of his father's actions; and it may be doubted whether Mr. Holwell's proposition (of abandoning Meer Jaffier and surrendering the government to the emperor) being wholly set aside, it would not have been wiser to have avoided the questionable expedient of a supercession, by suffering the present nabob to continue to occupy the musnud, but with a very limited degree of authority. It was evident things could not remain as they were; the power of the English was too great and too little—altogether too undefined to be stationary; and though there is much reason to believe that the course pursued in this difficult crisis was really prompted by an honest desire for the good of all parties, yet, like most temporising measures, the result was total and disastrous failure.

The resignation forced upon Meer Jaffier appears, under the circumstances, rather a boon than a punishment. The first outburst of rage having subsided, he listened calmly to the proposals made to him—prudently rejected the offer of continuing to enjoy the empty semblance of power, while the reality was to be vested in another person; and simply stipulated that he should be suffered to proceed immediately to Calcutta, and reside there under British protection. It has been alleged that his ambitious son-in-law objected strongly to such a procedure, and would have preferred disposing of his predecessor after a more summary fashion;* but be this as it may, Meer Jaffier quitted Moorshedabad the very

evening of his deposition, bearing away, to solace his retirement, about seventy of the ladies of the harem, and “a reasonable quantity of jewels.” His only lawful wife (the mother of Meeran) refused to accompany him, and remained with her daughter and Meer Cossim. Thus ends one important though not very creditable page of Anglo-Indian history in Bengal.

ADMINISTRATION OF MEER COSSIM ALI.—The question uppermost in the mind of every member of the Bengal presidency, whether friendly or adverse to the new nabob, was—how he would manage to fulfil the treaty with the English, pay the sums claimed by them, and liquidate the enormous arrears due to his own clamorous troops? Being an able financier, a rigid economist in personal expenditure, and a man of unwearying energy, Meer Cossim set about the Herculean task of freeing himself from pecuniary involvements, and restoring the prosperity of the country by measures which soon inspired the English officials with the notion that, so far as their personal interests were concerned, the recent revolution might prove as the exchange of King Log for King Stork. Strict accounts of income and expenditure were demanded from the local governors, from the highest to the lowest; the retrospect was carried back even to the time of Ali Verdi Khan; and many who had long since retired to enjoy, in comparative obscurity, wealth gotten by more or less questionable means, while basking in the short-lived sunshine of court favour, were now compelled to refund at least a portion of their accumulations. In short, according to Gholam Hussein, the advice of Sadi the poet—“Why collectest thou not from every

British India, i., 387.) This does not free the English authorities from blame regarding the fate of those who really perished, and the hazard incurred by the survivors, who were left at the caprice of an apathetic old man and a merciless youth. But so little concern was manifested when human lives and not trading monopolies were concerned, that Meeran, being reproached by Sraffon (then British resident at Moorshedabad) for the murder of one of the female relatives of Ali Verdi Khan, did not take the trouble of replying, as he truly might, that she was alive, but asked, in the tone of a petulant boy who thought he “might do what he willed with his own,” “What, shall not I kill an old woman who goes about in her dooly (litter) to stir up the jemadars (military commanders) against my father?” The perceptions of the Bengal public were, happily, not quite so obtuse as those of their Mohammedan or European rulers; and the murder of the princesses (with or without their alleged companions of inferior rank) was held to be so foul a crime, that the fire of heaven,

which smote the perpetrator, was popularly believed to have been called down by Amina Begum (the mother of Surajah Dowlah), who in dying uttered the vengeful wish, that the lightning might fall on the murderer of herself, her child, and her sister. The imprecation is of fearful meaning in Bengal, where loss of life during thunder-storms is of frequent occurrence; and the tale ran, that the deaths of Meeran and his victims were not, as stated in the text, a month apart, but simultaneous, the fatal orders being executed at Dacca on the same night and hour that Meeran perished, several hundred miles away. (*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 133.) The translator adds, in a note, that the imprecation of Amina Begum was mentioned in Moorshedabad full thirty days before intelligence became public of the death of Meeran.

* This charge will be found in Holwell's *Indian Tracts*, 90—91; but in a subsequent page it is denied by Mr. Holwell, the person to whom the proposition is stated to have been made.—(*Idem*, p. 114.)

subject a grain of silver, that thou mayest form a treasure?"—became the rule of Meer Cossim; and, in the short space of eight months, he wrought a wonderful change for the better, though at a cost of personal exertion which he described by declaring, that he had "scarce had leisure to drink a little water, nor a minute's time to eat or enjoy sleep."*

Such rigid supervision was sure to displease those especially by whom it was most needed; and the camp of the Mogul became in consequence the rallying ground of many discontented zemindars and petty rajahs who were not strong enough to rebel in their own names. Early in 1761 an engagement took place between the imperial forces and those of Meer Cossim and the English under Major Carnac. The emperor was again defeated; the small French corps by which he had been supported quite dispersed; and its indefatigable leader, M. Law, taken prisoner.† Immediately after the battle, overtures of peace were made by the victors, through the intervention of a brave Hindoo general, whose name, whatever it may have been, has been anglicised into Rajah Shitabroy. The proposition was gladly accepted; Shah Alum proceeded to Patna, and there bestowed on Meer Cossim the investiture of the government of the three provinces, on condition of the annual payment of twenty-four lacs of rupees.‡ The English commander then escorted the emperor some distance on his road to join Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude. External hostility had scarcely been removed from the path of Meer Cossim, before obstacles of a domestic character took its place. Several Hindoo officials of high rank persisted in evading his just demands for a settlement of outstanding accounts, and screened themselves from punishment,

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 214.

† After the fate of the day had been decided, Law, though deserted by his countrymen, refused to quit the field; and vexed to the soul by the utter failure of his attempts to uphold the interests of the French nation, sat down astride a gun, ready to fling away his life, when an attempt should be made to capture him. Major Carnac found him in this attitude, accepted his surrender on parole without delivering up his sword, and subsequently, in common with all the other British officers, treated the captive with marked consideration. Gholam Hussein Khan highly extols this chivalrous behaviour, and finds frequent occasion to applaud in the strongest manner the military qualifications of the English; adding, that if they did but possess equal proficiency in the arts of government, and manifested as much solicitude for the welfare of native communities

or even from inquiry, through the intervention of the English. Ram Narrain, the governor of Patna, afforded a remarkable example of this ill-judged partiality. He had been placed in office by Ali Verdi Khan, and was one of the few nobles whose fidelity to Surajah Dowlah remained inviolate. After the deposition and murder of this prince, Meer Jaffier had urgently solicited Clive to induce Ram Narrain to come to Moorshedabad under the promise of British protection, in order, as the proposer of this notable scheme did not hesitate to avow, to obtain a convenient opportunity for cutting off his head. The experience of Clive in the art of writing "soothing" letters to an intended victim, was, happily for the national honour, not made use of in the present case; on the contrary, the ungenerous policy of maintaining a rival party in the court of the nabob, induced favourable terms to be made with Ram Narrain, and he was confirmed in his government despite the opposition of his nominal master.

As might be expected under such circumstances, between constant warfare and a disaffected ruler, the revenues of Patna proved of little benefit to the exhausted treasury of Moorshedabad. Ram Narrain scarcely disguised the hatred and contempt he felt for Meer Jaffier, and found no difficulty in resisting or evading his demands; but Meer Cossim was a man of a different stamp; and a fierce and prolonged dispute took place between the nabob and the governor—the former demanding the immediate settlement of all arrears; the latter, on one pretence or other, refusing even to render the accounts justly demanded from him. The refractory subordinate relied on the protection of the English, and long continued to be upheld in his unwarrantable

in time of peace, as they did forethought in war, then no nation in the world would be worthier of command. "But," he adds, "such is the little regard they show to the people of these kingdoms, and such their apathy and indifference to their welfare, that the natives under their dominion groan everywhere, and are reduced to poverty and distress."—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 102.)

‡ Meer Cossim, aware of the strong personal prejudice of Major Carnac towards himself, refused to enter the imperial camp, lest some design against him—such as it appears was actually entertained by Carnac and Ellis (Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 399)—should be put in practice. Therefore the investiture was performed in the hall of the English factory, a platform being made of two dining-tables, covered with cloth, on which to enthrone the fallen majesty of the house of Timur.

refusal to furnish any statement of his administration by the military commanders then stationed at Patna; but at length the representations of Meer Cossim, regarding the violent conduct of Colonel Coote* and Major Carnae, occasioned their recall, and left Ram Narrain in the hands of the nabob, by whom his person was seized and his effects confiscated, on the charge of embezzlement.

The truth was, the whole affair had been treated rather as a bone of contention among the jarring members of the Bengal presidency, than as a question of justice. The secret of their disunion appears to have been sheer jealousy of the present offered by Meer Cossim to the select committee previous to his accession, which they refused receiving until the claims of the company should be satisfied, peace restored, and the long standing arrears of the native troops entirely liquidated.†

These preliminaries having been fulfilled, it was probably expected that Meer Cossim would repeat his offer of the twenty lacs of rupees to the individuals by whom it had been temporarily rejected. The remaining members of council (not of the select committee) became extremely violent on the subject, and instead of pleading, as they might have reasonably done, against being excluded from all share in a transaction which they had about as much, or as little right to benefit by as their colleagues, the tone adopted was one of disinterested zeal for the interest of their employers, in whose name it was insisted the twenty lacs should be immediately demanded from Meer Cossim. This motion

* For instance, Meer Cossim complained that on one occasion Colonel Coote, accompanied by thirty-five European horsemen and 200 sepoys, entered his tent in a great passion with a pistol in either hand, crying out, "Where is the nabob?" and uttering "God dammees!" Colonel Coote tacitly admitted the truth of this statement, with the trivial exception that his pistols were not cocked, as the nabob had declared. —(Vansittart's *Narrative*, i., 238—244.)

† Soon after his accession, Meer Cossim took occasion to present Mr. Vansittart with a present of 25,000 rupees on the birth of a son—an ordinary eastern compliment, which the governor accepted, but immediately paid into the company's treasury.

1 A receipt in full was given to Meer Cossim in March, 1762, from all pecuniary obligation to the English. A minute in council showed that he had paid them twenty-six lacs of sicca rupees (valued at 2s. 8½d. each), together with fifty-three lacs of current rupees (2s. 4d. each), derived from the ceded districts. He had likewise satisfied the claims both of his own and his predecessor's troops.—(*Narrative*.)

§ It appears, however, from the evidence given before parliament, in 1772, by Colonel Calliaud and Mr. Sumner, that the twenty lacs were actually paid

was brought forward by Mr. Amyatt, who, as Governor Vansittart did not fail to remark, had been of a different opinion some three years before, or he would scarcely have accepted a share in the golden harvest obtained by the elevation of Meer Jaffier, without exhibiting any such scrupulous regard to the interests of the general body. The result of a subsequent nabob-making affair proved that another stickler for the rights of the company (Mr. Johnstone) was equally willing, when practicable, to make a bargain on his own account. The measure was, however, carried by a majority of the entire council, and a formal requisition to the above effect made to Meer Cossim. The answer was prompt and decisive. The nabob, after stating, "by the grace of God, that he had fulfilled every article of the treaty,"‡ declared, "I owe nobody a single rupee, nor will I pay your demand." The sum intended for the select committee had been, he said, positively refused; most of the gentlemen to whom it was offered had left the country; and as to the one or two still in India, "I do not think," adds the nabob, "they will demand it from me."§ The directors at home clearly appreciated the motives of all concerned, and expressed decided approbation of the "spirited" refusal given to an unauthorised encroachment.

But the fire of anger and distrust, far from being extinguished by such well-merited rebuffs, was fed by various concomitant circumstances. An angry, if not insolent|| memorial, dictated by Clive immediately before sailing for England, and addressed by

by Meer Cossim, and received in the following proportions:—the governor, five lacs (£50,000); Holwell, Sumner, Calliaud, and McGwire, in diminishing portions, according to seniority. This makes the select committee to have consisted of five persons; but beside these, it appears there were others not then present at Calcutta. The committee consisted of the senior members of the council, and the council itself varied in the number of members from six to sixteen, according to the number of those absent in their employments as chiefs of factories, &c.

|| One phrase declares that a recent communication from the directors was equally unworthy of the parties by whom it was written, or those to whom it was addressed, "in whatever relation considered—as masters to servants, or gentlemen to gentlemen;" and it is added, significantly, that from the partiality evinced to individuals, "private views may, it is much to be feared, take the lead here from examples at home, and no gentlemen hold your service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than *their own exigencies require*." This remarkable specimen of plain speaking boasts the signatures of Clive, Holwell, Sumner, and McGwire, all of whom were dismissed the service, as also another councillor named Pleydell.

the Bengal officials to their "honourable masters," procured the dismissal of all by whom it had been signed. This measure failed in producing the intended effect; for of the refractory members, the majority, like their leader, had realised immense fortunes by the use of more or less discreditable means; others paid the penalty of sharing the violence of their predecessors by expulsion from the company's service. Although subsequently reinstated, their temporary absence left the governor in a minority in council, and vested the personal opponents of the nabob with overwhelming power. Mr. Vansittart, in rectitude of character, discretion, and gentlemanly bearing, was infinitely superior to his fellow-officials; but he lacked energy to control their unruly tempers, and successfully oppose their selfish ends. It appears that he and the other four gentlemen associated with him (that is, all the members of the select committee then in Bengal), did eventually receive from Cossim Ali the much-canvassed twenty lacs. This single drawback on a general reputation for disinterestedness, afforded an opening of which his enemies well knew how to take advantage, and every effort made to check their illegitimate gains was treated as an act of corrupt and venal partiality towards the nabob.

We have already seen that in the time of Moorshed Kooli Khan, the English officials had striven to construe the firmans granted by the emperor Ferokhsheer, as conferring not only exemption from custom-dues on all foreign commerce, but as including the produce of the country, which they asserted ought to pass untaxed, if accompanied by their *dustucks* or licenses, even from one district to another. Now, as half the local revenue was, by the system universally pursued, obtained by innumerable petty dues levied on merchandise, at frequent intervals, in its passage from place to place, it followed that such an unreasonable claim, if granted, must prove highly injurious to the income of the province, and ruinous to the native traders, who, fettered by taxation, could not hope to compete with their favoured rivals. The manifest injustice of the demand procured its speedy, and for a

time, complete abandonment. At a subsequent period the directors (in a dispute with the Dutch regarding the right of the emperor to grant the English merchants a monopoly for the sole purchase of saltpetre, notwithstanding the promise of free trade conceded to their competitors) laid it down as an axiom, that the design of all firmans granted to Europeans was to admit them "to the same freedom of trading with the Mogul's own subjects—surely not a better."* In fact, the interests of the company were in no manner concerned in the question of inland traffic, because this had been entirely resigned to their servants; and every attempt at encroachment made by them during the strong administrations of Moorshed Kooli and Ali Verdi Khan had been carefully suppressed, until the latter ruler became weakened by age, foreign wars, and domestic sorrows. The previous efforts were recommenced and increased at the time of the accession of Surajah Dowlah—so much so, that the articles signed by the English on the surrender of Cossimbazar in May, 1757, included a specific promise to make good all that the Mohammedan government had suffered from the abuse of *dustucks*.† This pledge was far from being redeemed, and the abuse complained of rose to such an extent, despite the repeated remonstrances of Meer Jaffier, that not only every servant of the company, together with their *gomastahs* or native agents, claimed complete immunity in carrying on inland trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, bamboos, dried fish, &c., but even the Bengalee merchants found it expedient to purchase the name of some member of the presidency; and by virtue of "*dustucks*" thus obtained, could laugh at the revenue officers, and compel the natives, on penalty of flogging or imprisonment,‡ to buy goods at more, or sell them at considerably less, than the market price.§

Had Mr. Vansittart been a man of more determination, he might probably have averted a new revolution; but the compromising character of his measures served only to encourage his intractable associates. In taking a firm stand on the justice of the question, and insisting upon the proper pay-

goods supplied to private traders, often exclusive of commission; while the native merchants "apply to our junior servants, and for valuable considerations receive their goods covered with our servants' names: even a writer trades in this manner for many thousands, when at the same time he has often not real credit for an hundred rupees. For the truth of these assertions we need only appeal to yourselves."

* Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 153.

† Treaty with Surajah Dowlah; vide Scrafton's *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, p. 53.

‡ Vansittart's *Narrative*, ii., 113.

§ The existence and notoriety of these practices is evidenced in a letter from the directors, dated April, 1760, in which it is asserted, that the chiefs of subordinate factories gained full twenty per cent. upon

ment of taxes necessary to the maintenance of the country government, he would doubtless have been supported by the directors, who, unbiassed by self-interest, would then, as on a subsequent occasion, have given an honest decision on so plain a case. But Vansittart, aware of the extreme anxiety of the nabob to preserve peace with the English, hoped to bring about an arrangement by offering, on their behalf, the payment of nine per cent. (a rate not a quarter the amount of that exacted from native traders) upon the prime cost of goods at the time of purchase, after which no further duties should be imposed. These terms were settled at a private interview between the nabob and the governor, and the latter departed highly pleased at having brought about an amicable adjustment. But he did not understand the blinding influence of the factious and grasping spirit of the men with whom he had to deal. The members of council, absent in their capacities of chiefs of factories, were called together: even majors Adams and Carnac, though empowered to give a vote only in military affairs, were suffered to come and join a discussion in which they were unprofessionally, and not very creditably, interested as traders; and the result was, the refusal of an overwhelming majority to ratify the pledge given by their president. Warren Hastings, who had lately been elevated to the council, alone stood by Vansittart, and eloquently pleaded the cause of justice, relating the oppressions he had himself witnessed while employed in an inferior capacity in different factories, but with no beneficial result.*

Meer Cossim soon saw the state of the case;—a governor, willing but unable to protect him against the rapacity of subordinate officials. He knew their vulnerable point; and instead of wasting more time in fruitless complaints, aimed a well-directed blow by proclaiming free trade among his own subjects for the ensuing two years. It was clearly the most equitable and statesmanlike measure that could have been adopted; but the council, in their unbridled wrath at having the native traders placed on a level with themselves, denounced it as a shameless infringement on the company's prerogative; and, upon this flimsy pretext, sent a deputation to the nabob, consisting of

Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay, to demand its immediate annulment. Meer Cossim refused to discuss the subject, and, in commenting on the decision of the council—that all disputes between English gomastahs and his officers, should be referred to the chiefs of the company's factories—he said their justice consisted simply in this:—"they abuse and beat my officers, and send them away bound." Regarding the immediate question at issue, he vindicated the abolition of customs on the plea of necessity, the conduct of the English having utterly prevented their realisation, and thus deprived him of one-half his revenues. The remainder, he added, arose from land-rents, which were diminished by the abstraction of half the country, and were required to pay his standing army. Under these circumstances he would be well pleased to be relieved of his irksome task, and see some other person placed in his stead as nabob. This proposition was probably made in reference to the projects already canvassed in council (and of which he doubtless had some knowledge), for his supercession in the event of the outbreak of hostilities. The tone and bearing of Meer Cossim were, however, still on the whole so deprecating and conciliatory, that no fear of the consequences appears to have arisen in the minds of the council to suggest the danger of driving him to extremities. The governor explicitly declares that, up to this period, the nabob had not shown "any instance of a vicious or a violent disposition; he could not be taxed with any act of cruelty to his own subjects, nor treachery to us."† Of his troops a very contemptible opinion had been formed; they were spoken of as "undisciplined rabble," whom a single European detachment could at once disperse: while Meer Cossim himself was known to possess neither taste nor talent as a military leader; and the chief warlike enterprise of his administration (an invasion of Nepaul) had proved a failure. But sufficient account had not been made of the care with which the native army had been gradually brought to a state of unprecedented efficiency; their number being diminished by the payment and dismissal of useless portions, while the remainder were carefully trained, after the European manner, by the aid of some military adventurers who entered the service of Meer Cossim. Among these the most celebrated was a man called by the natives

* In the course of these discussions, Mr. Batson, one of the council, struck Hastings a blow. The injured party, with true dignity, left to his colleagues the charge of dealing with the offender.

† Vansittart's *Narrative*, iii., 394.

Sumroo.* He was a German, Walter Reinhard by name, and came to India as a sergeant in the service of France. Military abilities raised him to high favour with Meer Cossim, and he became the chief instigator and instrument of the cruelties which disgraced the close of the struggle with the presidency. The abuse of certain discretionary powers vested in Mr. Ellis by the council, despite the opposition of the governor, precipitated matters. Patna was seized by the English, and, to their surprise, immediately regained by Meer Cossim. Mr. Amyatt was at this time on his way back to Calcutta; Mr. Hay being detained as a hostage for the safety of some of the native officials then imprisoned at Calcutta. Orders were given for the capture of Mr. Amyatt: he was intercepted, and, with several of his companions, slain in the struggle which ensued. The council closed all avenues to reconciliation with Meer Cossim, by the restoration of the man who, three years before, had been pronounced utterly unfit to reign. Suddenly annulling all that had been said and done—setting aside the imperial investiture, and everything else, Meer Jaffier, without even the form of a fresh treaty, was, by a strange turn of the wheel of circumstances, again hurried to the musnud from whence he had so lately been ignominiously expelled.

Vansittart, overpowered by bitter opposition, and sinking under ill-health, no longer strove to stem the torrent. It was an emergency in which he thought "justice must give way to necessity,"† and accordingly he signed the proclamation inviting the people of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa to rally round the standard of Meer Jaffier; with other documents, whose contents were wholly at variance with his previous measures; only declaring that he would resign the government so soon as Meer Cossim should be subdued. This did not prove so easy a task as had been expected. The ex-nabob made a last effort at an accommodation by a letter to the presidency, in which he denied having given any order for the destruction of Mr. Amyatt; but, at the same time, referred significantly to the number of English captured at Patna, plainly intimating that their fate depended on the terms made with him. The threat was little heeded. So perfect and uniform

had been his self-control, that not even the governor or Mr. Hastings (the two Europeans who had most intimately known him) ever suspected the fierce passions which lay hid beneath the veil of a singularly dignified bearing and guarded language. No decisive measure was therefore taken for the rescue of the prisoners, but only letters written, threatening unsparing vengeance in the event of any injury being inflicted upon them. These communications did but add fuel to fire. Meer Cossim well knew the stake for which he played—independent sway over at least a part of Bengal, or a violent death, with the possible alternative of poverty and expatriation in the dominions of his powerful neighbour, Shuja Dowlah. The English took the field in 1763, and commenced operations by the successful attack of the army stationed to protect Moorshedabad. The city was captured; and in the following month, the severest conflict which the English had yet sustained took place on the plain of Geriah. The battle lasted four hours, and the enemy at one period broke the line, seized two guns, and attacked the 84th regiment front and rear. But the steadiness of the troops prevailed over the impetuosity of their assailants, and eventually procured a complete victory. Meer Cossim was driven from place to place; defeat and disgrace dogged his steps; and after sending his family and treasures to the stronghold of Rhotas, he commenced a series of executions at once, to gratify his revenge and intimidate his foes. Ram Narrain, with ten relatives, and other native prisoners of note, were the first victims after the battle of Geriah. A no less disastrous engagement, in September, near Oodwa, was followed by the execution of the celebrated bankers, Juggut Scit and his brother (or cousin), of whose persons the nabob had some time before obtained possession. Finally, the treacherous surrender of Monghyr, which he learned at Patna, occasioned an order for the immediate execution of all prisoners confined there, including fifty of the company's servants, civil and military. Among the number were Hay, Ellis, and Lushington (the person before named as having counterfeited the signature of Admiral Watson.) Mr. Fullarton, a surgeon, in virtue of a profession more peaceful than his practice,‡

* His *nom-de-guerre* of Summer was changed by the French soldiers into Sombre, on account of his dark complexion, pronounced by the natives *Sumroo*.

† Vansittart's *Narrative*, iii., 317.

‡ He is stated by Vansittart to have been mainly instrumental in urging Mr. Amyatt, with whom he

formed the sole exception to this savage massacre, which was perpetrated by Sumroo and two companies of sepoys. On the advance of the English, Patna was abandoned by its ruthless master; but the capture was not effected until the middle of November, after a prolonged and resolute defence. Meer Cossim, unable to offer further resistance, crossed the Caramnassa as a fugitive, and threw himself upon the protection of his ally, Shuja Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, who, from the nominal vizier, had by this time become the gaoler, of Shah Alum. Early in the following year, an army was assembled at Benares by Shuja Dowlah, who, it appears, desired to make the claims of his *protégé* a pretext for obtaining possession of the three provinces for himself. The prospect of invasion was alarming—less from the strength of the enemy than from the mutinous and disaffected condition of the British force. From the moment when a division of booty, to a hitherto unheard-of extent, commenced at the taking of Geriah in 1756, a marked deterioration had, as Clive truly observed, taken place in their health and discipline. Large numbers perished from sheer debauchery; and the survivors, imitating the civilians, were constantly on the watch for some new source of irregular gain. "A gratification to the army" had been one of the articles canvassed in council, as a point to be insisted on in case of Meer Cossim's supercession; but war had come on them at the last so suddenly, and had been attended with such an unexpected amount of danger and expense, that in the terms dictated to Meer Jaffier, after his reinstatement on the musnud, the council had scarcely leisure to do more than stipulate for thirty lacs on behalf of the company; for the reimposition of taxes on the oppressed natives; for their own total exemption, except a duty of two-and-a-half per cent. upon salt,* which, in their liberality, they offered to pay as a gratuitous assistance to the nabob; and, lastly, for complete reimbursement to individuals who might suffer loss by the stoppage of the inland trade. It is easy to understand who these individuals were, but difficult to conceive to what an extent a clause so indefinite as this might enable them to carry their extortions. Even Meer Jaffier seems to have had a notion that, in had great influence, to adopt the policy which led to so melancholy a termination.—(*Narrative*, i., 161.)

* Even this rate was never levied.—(*Clive*, iii., 103.)

† Evidence of Major Munro.—(*First Report of Parliamentary Committee*, 1772.)

return for these stipulations, he also might put forward some peculiar claims; and he now successfully urged, as a condition of re-accepting the subahship, permission to employ, as one of his chief ministers, an intriguing Hindoo named Nuncomar, who was actually in confinement for having intrigued against the English with Shuja Dowlah and the French governor of Pondicherry. In these arrangements, all idea of a gratuity to the army was lost sight of; nor was any forthcoming, as expected, after the expulsion of Meer Cossim, although a specific pledge to that effect had, it appears, been given to the troops through Major Adams.†

Under such circumstances little vigour was displayed in opposing the invading troops, until, after ravaging Bahar, they penetrated as far as Patna. Here, however, they were defeated. The English soldiers and sepoys—but especially the latter, on whom the principal weight of the attack fell—behaved with great steadiness and gallantry; and the vizier, perceiving that his rude levies were quite unable to oppose a disciplined European force, soon began to evince an inclination for an amicable adjustment of affairs. But the English would make no terms that did not include the surrender of the fugitive nabob and his sanguinary instrument, Sumroo; and Shuja Dowlah, on his part, looked for nothing less than the surrender of the whole province of Bahar: consequently the discussion produced no result; and the tedious war dragged on until the approach of the rainy season compelled the vizier to conclude the campaign by retreating with all speed to Oude.

The arrival of Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro from Bombay, with European reinforcements, was the signal for an outbreak of the dissatisfaction long at work in the British army; and a whole battalion of sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, marched off to join the enemy. The major detached a select body of troops in pursuit. The fugitives were surprised by night, while sleeping, and brought back as prisoners. By the decree of a court-martial of their own countrymen, twenty-four of the prisoners were condemned to die. They were tied up, four at a time, to the muzzle of as many guns, and blown away; the first to suffer being some grenadiers, who stepped forward and urged that, as they had constantly been allowed precedence in the hour of danger, so now it should be granted them in death. The claim was

tacitly admitted to be true, by being granted, and the whole twenty-four were executed, despite the earnest remonstrances and even open opposition of their comrades.

Military men have applauded this transaction as a piece of well-timed and necessary severity; those who, like myself, question both the lawfulness and expediency of capital punishments, and deem war and standing armies the reproach and not the glory of Christian nations, will probably view the whole affair in a different light.

In the middle of September (1764) the British troops again took the field, and having crossed the Son in spite of the opposition of a corps of cavalry, advanced towards the intrenched camp of the vizier at Buxar. A sharp conflict took place, and lasted about three hours; the enemy then began to give way, and slowly retired; but an immediate pursuit being commenced, Shuja Dowlah procured its abandonment, though at an immense sacrifice of life,* by destroying a bridge of boats upon a stream of water two miles from the field of battle. The emperor seized the opportunity of escaping from his tyrannical minister, pitched his tents beside those of the English, and placed himself under their protection. Renewed overtures for peace, on the part of Shuja Dowlah, were again met by a demand for the surrender of Meer Cossim and Sumroo. The former, fearing to trust his life any longer in the hands of one who had already taken advantage of his defenceless position to obtain possession of the chief part of the gold and jewels which he had brought from Bengal, now fled to the Rohilla country, whither he had fortunately caused some treasure to be conveyed before the confiscation ordered by his ungenerous ally, on pretence of paying the troops. Sumroo, no less faithless than cruel, had deserted him; and, with a large body of trained sepoys, had joined the force of Shuja Dowlah before the battle of Buxar. This piece of treachery nearly proved fatal to its perpetrator; for the vizier, anxious to come to terms with the English, and yet to avoid the infamy of delivering up the deserter, positively offered to procure his assassination in presence of any two or three witnesses chosen by Major Munro, and evinced great surprise at the rejection of this truly oriental proposal. It should

be remarked, however, in justice to Shuja Dowlah, that though willing to plunder Meer Cossim to the last rupee, he could not be induced to surrender his person on any terms; and even for the life and liberty of the villain Sumroo, he would willingly have paid a heavy ransom; for it was not until after the rejection of the offer of a sum of fifty-eight lacs, in lieu of delivering up the fugitives, that he made the treacherous suggestion above narrated regarding Sumroo. Whether he really intended to carry it out, or if, on the contrary, some other stratagem was designed in the event of the plan being approved by the English, cannot be ascertained. It is certain that his army was in no condition to renew hostilities, and, indeed, never recovered the effects of the late decisive engagement.

Meanwhile corruption, venality, and oppression reigned unchecked in Bengal. The name of a nation, once highly honoured, became alike hateful in the ears of Mussulmans and Hindoos.† The approach of a party of English sepoys served as a signal for the desertion of whole villages, and the shopkeepers fled at the approach of the palanquin of the passing traveller, fearing that their goods might be seized for an almost nominal value, and they themselves abused and beaten for offering a remonstrance. The people at large were reduced to a state of unprecedented misery; the ungenerous and impolitic advantage taken of their weakness, having put it in the power of every marauder who chose to style himself an English servant, to plunder and tyrannise over them without control. The effect, Warren Hastings plainly declared to be, "not only to deprive them of their own laws, but to refuse them even the benefit of any." Had all this wrong proceeded from the will of a single despot, there can be little doubt he would have been speedily removed by a combination of his own officers, or, as Mohammedan history affords so many instances, been smitten to the earth by a private individual, in vengeance for some special injury. But the tyranny of a far-distant association, dreadful and incomprehensible beyond any bugbear ever painted by superstition, possessed this distinguishing feature above all other despotisms—that it was exercised through numerous distinct agencies,

* Stated at 2,000 men drowned or otherwise lost; besides which, 2,000 men were left dead on the field, with 133 pieces of cannon. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 817.

† *Fide* Hasting's letter;—*Narrative*, ii., 78. Clive declares the oppressions practised had made "the name of the English stink in the nostrils of a Gentoo or a Mussulman."—(*Malcolm's Life*, ii., 380.)

of which the hundred hands and arms of the Hindoo idols could convey but a faint and feeble image.

Oppression reached a climax under the second administration of Meer Jaffier. He had previously complained in forcible language* of the injury done to the native merchants, as well as to the provincial revenues, by the abuse of the privileges conferred by the firmam; but to this wrong he formally assented when replaced on the musnud. It soon, however, became manifest that it mattered little what the terms of the agreement had been; for he was regarded simply as "a banker for the company's servants, who could draw upon him as often, and to as great an extent as they pleased."† The clause for compensation to individuals proved, as might have been foreseen, a handle for excessive extortion. At the time of its insertion the nabob had been assured that, although it was impossible to specify the particular amounts of claims, they would not altogether exceed ten lacs; notwithstanding which, the demand was increased to twenty, thirty, forty, and at last reached fifty-three lacs. Seven-eighths of this sum, according to the testimony of Mr. Sraffton, then an E. I. director, "was for losses sustained (or said to be sustained) in an illicit monopoly of the necessities of life, carried on against the orders of the company, and to the utter ruin of the India merchants." He adds, that "half of this sum was soon extorted from the nabob, though the company were at that time sinking under the burden of the war, and obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants at eight per cent. interest, and even with that assistance could not carry on both their war and their investment, but sent their ships half loaded to Europe."‡ The military establishment of the English had by this time increased to 18,000 horse and foot, and its ill-regulated expenditure soon swallowed up the thirty lacs paid by Meer Jaffier, as also the further sum of five lacs a month, which he had agreed to furnish during the continuance of the war.

Pressed on all sides by extortionate claims, despised and brow-beaten by the very men who had used him as an instrument for their private ends, the nabob sank rapidly to an unhonoured grave. His death in January,

1765, had been shortly preceded by the departure of Governor Vansittart and Warren Hastings for England; and in the absence of any restraining influence, the council were left to conduct the profitable affair of enthroning a new nabob after their own fashion. The choice lay between the eldest illegitimate son of Jaffier, Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, aged twenty years, and the infant son of Meeran. The claim of the emperor to appoint an officer was considered far too inconvenient to be acknowledged; it would be easy to extort his sanction when the selection was made. Repeated offers had been made by him to bestow on the English real power over the revenues of Bengal, by vesting in them the right of collection. This office, called the *dewannee*, had been devised during the palmy days of the empire§ as a means of preventing attempts at independence on the part of the subahdar, the dewan being designed to act as treasurer, appointed from, and accountable to, the Delhi government, leaving the subahdar to direct in all other matters. This arrangement had been allowed to fall into disuse; for Ali Verdi Khan had usurped the whole authority, both financial and judicial. Shah Alum must have been too well acquainted with the state of affairs, to doubt that the English, if they accepted the dewannee, would be sure to engross likewise all real power vested in the subahdar; but he expected in return a tribute, on the regular payment of which dependence might be placed. It did not, however, suit the views of the representatives of the E. I. Cy. to occupy a position which should render them personally accountable for the revenues. A nabob—i.e., a person from whom "presents" might be legally received—could not be dispensed with. The child of Meeran was old enough to understand the worth of sugar-plums, but hardly of rupees; and his claims were set aside for those of Nujeem-ad-Dowlah. The new nabob consented to everything demanded of him: agreed to entrust the military defence of the country solely to the English, and even to allow of the appointment, by the presidency, of a person who, under the title of Naib Subah, should have the entire management of the affairs of government. He eagerly advocated the nomination of Nuncomar to fill this important

* "The poor of my country," said Meer Jaffier, "used to get their bread by trading in salt, betelnut, and tobacco, which the English have now taken to themselves; by which my poor are starving, my revenues ruined, and no advantage to the company."

—(*See* Sraffton's *Observations* on Vansittart's *Narrative*, printed in 1766, pp. 38-9.)

† Clive's speech, 1772:—Almon's *Debates*, xiv.

‡ Sraffton's *Observations*, pp. 48-9.

§ See preceding section on Mogul Empire, p. 117.

office, but in vain; and the selection of an experienced noble, named Mohammed Reza Khan, was perhaps the best that could have been made. The other articles of the treaty were but the confirmation of previous arrangements; and the whole affair wound up, as usual, very much to the satisfaction of the English officials concerned, among nine of whom the sum of £139,357 was distributed, besides gifts extorted from leading Indian functionaries, in all of which the chief share was monopolised by Mr. Johnstone, the dissenting member of council, who had so vehemently deprecated the conduct of the select committee of 1760, in receiving the largess of Meer Cossim. The money thus acquired was not destined to be enjoyed without a contest; for the curb (so greatly needed) was at length about to be placed on the greediness of Bengal officials.

Ever since the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, the E. I. Co. had been spectators rather than directors of the conduct of their servants in Bengal. Clive had quitted their service with bitterness in his heart and defiance on his lips; and the example of insubordination, ambition, and covetousness given by him, had been closely imitated by men who could not appreciate the energy and perseverance which enabled him to swim where they must sink. The representations of Mr. Vansittart, the massacre at Patna, and the sharp contest with Shuja Dowlah following that with Meer Cossim, seriously alarmed the mass of

East India proprietors;—anxiety for their own interests, and indignation at the wrongs heaped on the natives in their name, for the sole benefit of a few ungovernable servants, conspired to rouse a strong feeling of the necessity of forthwith adopting measures calculated to bring about a better state of things. Stringent orders were dispatched in February, 1764, forbidding the trade in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country;* and in the following May it was directed that new covenants should be executed by all the company's servants (civil and military), binding them to "pay over to their employers all presents received from the natives, which should exceed 4,000 rupees in value." The above orders, and the unsigned covenants, were actually lying at Calcutta when the treaty with the new nabob was made, and the sum above stated extorted from him. Probably the directors were not unprepared for disobedience, even of this flagrant character. The execution of orders so distasteful needed to be enforced in no common manner; and reasoning, it would seem, on the ground that it was one of those cases in which "the children of this world are wiser than the children of light," it was suggested that Clive (now a lord) was of all men the best fitted to root up the poisonous tree he had planted.†

The inducement was not wanting; for his jaghire had been called in question; and to ensure its continuance for the next ten

* Second Parl. Report on E. I. Co., 1772.

† An Irish peerage was, after long delay, obtained by Clive, who took the title of Baron of Plassey: an English one, by his own account, might have been purchased with ease (*Life*, ii., 189); but then the enormous wealth which was to maintain its possessor on a level, in a pecuniary point of view, with the high-born aristocracy of England, rested on a precarious footing. Clive, notwithstanding his extraordinary facility of attributing to himself every possible perfection, never doubted that his position in society rested on his "bags of money and bushels of diamonds" (ii., 168), rather than on any mere personal qualifications; and when urged to exert his influence in the India House, soon after his return to England, for some special purpose, in contravention to the directors, he peremptorily refused, declaring, "my future power, my future grandeur, all depend upon the receipt of the jaghire; and I should be a madman to set at defiance those who at present show no inclination to hurt me." It must be remembered that Clive, besides the jaghire, had avowedly realised between three and four hundred thousand pounds during his second sojourn in India—a circumstance that greatly detracts from the effect of the fiery indignation with which, when the right was questioned of Meer Jaffier to bestow, or his own to accept, the quitrent paid by the company, he came forward to save his "undoubted property from the worst of foes—

a combination of ungrateful directors" (ii., 229.) "Having now," says Sir John Malcolm, "no choice between hartering his independence to obtain security for his fortune," Clive commenced hostilities after the old fashion, sparing neither bold strokes in the field, nor manoeuvres in the closet. Upwards of £100,000 were employed by him in securing support by a means then commonly practised, but afterwards prohibited—viz., that of split votes. He had, however, some powerful opponents, with the chairman, Mr. Sullivan, at their head. This gentleman and Clive were at one period on intimate terms; but according to the latter, their seeming good-fellowship had been sheer hypocrisy, since, in reality, they "all along behaved like shy coeks, though at times outwardly expressing great regard and friendship for one another." The issue of the conflict in London was materially influenced by the critical state of affairs in Calcutta. The court of proprietors took up the matter in the most decided manner. Clive availed himself of the excitement of the moment, and besides the confirmation of his jaghire for ten years, obtained as a condition of his acceptance of the office of governor and commander-in-chief in the Bengal Presidency, the expulsion of Mr. Sullivan from the direction. The four persons associated with him, under the name of a select committee—Messrs. Sumner, Sykes, Verelst, and General (late Major) Carnac—were all subordinate to his will;

years to himself or his heirs, he agreed to return to India for a very limited period—signed covenants to refrain from receiving any presents by which he became pledged from native princes; and, invested with almost despotic power, reached Calcutta in May, 1765. Here he found matters in a widely different condition to that which had caused the E. I. Cy. so much well-founded apprehension. Meer Cossim had been expelled; the emperor had thrown himself upon the English for protection; and Shuja Dowlah was so reduced as to be on the eve of deprecating their wrath by a similar expedient of placing his person at their mercy. The majority of the reasons for which such extraordinary powers had been vested in Clive, in conjunction with a select committee of four persons devoted to his will, had therefore ceased to exist; but he persisted in retaining these powers, and with sufficient reason; for the task he had to perform, if conscientiously fulfilled, would have probably required their exercise. As it was, he excited a general storm of rage, without effecting any permanent good—at least so far as the civil department of the presidency was concerned. The general council, in all, included sixteen persons; though probably not half that number assembled at ordinary meetings. Among them was Mr. Johnstone, who had played so leading a part in the transactions of the last few years. He was a person possessed of advantages, in regard both of ability and connexions, which rendered him not ill calculated to do battle with Clive; and he scrupled not to retort the severe censures cast upon himself and his colleagues, by asserting that they had only followed the example given by the very man who now lamented, in the most bombastic language, the “lost fame of the

the first-named had been ignominiously expelled the company, for signing the violent letter quoted at p. 294, but subsequently reinstated.

* These sentiments Lord Clive accompanies with an adjuration which too clearly illustrates the condition of his mind regarding a future state. “I do declare,” he writes, “by that Great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable *if there must be an hereafter*, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption.” Yet at this very time Clive scrupled not to employ his private knowledge of the state of affairs, and of the increased value of stock likely to result from the acceptance of the dewanee, to write home directions in cipher (so that, if falling into strange hands, no other person should benefit by the information), desiring that every shilling available, or that could be borrowed in his name, should be invested in E. I. stock “without loss of a minute.” Mr. Rous (a director)

British nation,” and declared himself to have “come out with a mind superior to all corruption,” and a fixed resolution to put down the exercise of that unworthy principle in others.*

The events of the next twenty months, though of considerable importance, can be but briefly narrated here. Immediately upon his arrival, Lord Clive, and the two members of the select committee who had accompanied him from England, without waiting for their destined colleagues, assumed the exercise of the whole powers of government, civil and military, after administering to themselves and their secretaries an oath of secrecy. Mr. Johnstone † made a desperate resistance to the new order of things, but was at length defeated and compelled to quit the service. The other members, for the most part, submitted, though with the worst possible grace; and the vacancies were supplied by Madras officials. The covenants forbidding the acceptance of presents were signed; then followed the prohibition of inland trade by the company's servants. This was a more difficult point to carry. Clive well knew that the salaries given by the E. I. Cy. were quite insufficient to maintain the political rank obtained by recent events. ‡ Poverty and power, side by side with wealth and weakness, would, as he himself declared, offer to the stronger party temptations “which flesh and blood could not resist.” With a full appreciation of this state of affairs, it was a plain duty to press upon the directors (as the clear-sighted and upright Sir Thomas Roe had done in the early part of the preceding century) § the necessity of allotting to each official a liberal income, which should hold out to all a reasonable prospect of obtaining a competency, by legitimate means, within such

and Mr. Walsh acted with promptitude, by proceeding forthwith, though on a Sunday, to obtain the key of the cipher, which it seems they very imperfectly understood.—(See Thornton's *India*, i., 492.)

† Johnstone and his colleagues, when vainly pressed to make over to the company the monies received from Najeem-ad-Dowlah, replied, that when Clive surrendered the money he had obtained from the father, they would yield in turn the gifts of the son.

‡ The salary of a councillor was only £250; the rent of a very moderate house in Calcutta, £200.

§ “Absolutely prohibit the private trade,” said he, “for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you give great wages, to their content; and then you know what you part from.” No amount of legitimate emolument will, however, assuage the thirst for gain inherent in many clever, unprincipled men.

stated term of years as experience had proved could be borne by an average European constitution. But Clive, instead of strenuously urging a policy so honest and straightforward as this, took upon himself to form a fund for the senior officers of the presidency, from the governors downwards, by resolving, after consultation only with Mr. Sumner and Mr. Verelst, that a monopoly should be formed of the trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, to be carried on for their exclusive benefit, with the drawback of a duty to the company estimated at £100,000 per annum. Monopolies are odious things at best: this one was of a peculiarly obnoxious and oppressive character; and the directors wisely and liberally commanded its immediate abandonment. The arrangements of Clive could not, however, be so lightly set aside; and they continued in operation until 1768.

With regard to Shuja Dowlah, it was deemed expedient that he should be replaced in the government of Oude, although a specific promise had been made that, on payment of fifty lacs of rupees for the expenses of the war, real power over the dominions of his tyrannical vizier should be given to the emperor, in the event of the English being triumphant. But this pledge, which had been needlessly volunteered, was now violated; the vizier being deemed (and with reason) a better protection against Mahratta and Afghan invasion, on the north-western frontier, than his gentle master. In another matter the claims of Shah Alum were treated in an equally arbitrary manner. The arrangements concluded with him by the Calcutta government were now revised, or, in other words, set aside by Clive. The emperor was given to understand, that since it was inconvenient to put him in possession of the usurped dominions of Shuja Dowlah (commonly called the "nabob-vizier"), the districts of Corah and Allahabad (yielding jointly a revenue of twenty-eight lacs) must suffice for a royal demesne; and, at the same time, some large sums of money unquestionably due from the company to the indigent monarch, were withheld on the plea of inability to pay them.* Shah Alum remonstrated warmly, but to no purpose: he was compelled to cancel all past agreements, and bestow on the company complete possession of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, under the

name of the "perpetual Dewannee," clogged only by a yearly tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The formal confirmation of the English in their various scattered settlements throughout the nominal extent of the empire, was likewise obtained; nor was the jaghire of Lord Clive, with reversion to his employers, forgotten in the arrangement. As a precautionary measure against the French (who, by virtue of a recent European treaty, had been reinstated in their Bengal settlements, with the proviso of neither erecting fortifications nor maintaining troops), it was deemed expedient to obtain from the emperor a free grant of the five Northern Circars, over which Nizam Ali, the brother and successor (by usurpation and murder) of Salabut Jung, then exercised a very precarious authority. In 1760, the Nizam (as he is commonly called) had proffered these Circars to the Madras government in return for co-operation against the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali; but his overtures were rejected, because the forces required could not be spared. In 1766, an arrangement was brought about by dint of no small amount of bribery and intrigue, by which four of the Circars were surrendered, and the reversion of the fifth, or Guntoor Circar, which was held by a brother of the Nizam, Bassalut Jung, was promised to the company, on condition of the payment of a rent of nine lacs of rupees, together with a most imprudent pledge to furnish a body of troops whenever the Nizam might require their aid in the maintenance of his government. The imperial firman, of which the chief articles have been just recited, took away the scanty remains of power vested by the Bengal presidency in Nujcem-ad-Dowlah. The weak and dissolute character of this youth rendered him an easy tool; and when informed by Clive that every species of control was about to pass from him, and that a stipend of fifty-three lacs would be allotted for the family of Meer Jaffier, out of which a certain sum would be placed at his disposal, this worthy prince uttered a thankful ejaculation, adding, "I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I please."†

A leading feature in the second administration of Clive remains to be noted—one of the most important, as well as the most interesting in his remarkable career. The other "reforms" effected by him were nothing better than a change of evils; but, in checking the spirit of insubordination and rapacity which pervaded the whole Anglo-

* Thirty lacs deficit of annual tribute, besides jaghires or lands in Bengal now withdrawn, amounting to five lacs and a-half of rupees per ann.—(Mill.)

† Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, iii., 125.

Indian army, he served both the company and the state well and bravely. Clive was essentially a military genius:* he scrupled not to declare in after-times, that all he had in the world had been acquired as the leader of an army; and when questioned regarding the very exceptionable trading regulations instituted under his auspices, he declared, with regard to an article under notice, that "of cotton he knew no more than the pope of Rome." He might have pleaded equal ignorance of the state of the immense native population of Bengal. But the condition of the troops was a subject he would naturally study *con amore*. Dissension, luxury, and profligacy, attended with alarming mortality, had immediately resulted from the large booty divided at Geriah under the auspices of himself and Admiral Watson. Since then excessive and extortionate gain, under pretence of trading, had become the predominant evil; and the severity of Major Munro, though it might for a time check, by the influence of terror, the insubordination of the sepoys, or even that of the European rank and file, left untouched the root of the evil—namely, the eagerness of the officers in the pursuit of trade, at the expense of professional duty. Now, Clive was the last person in the world to expect men to be content with honourable poverty, when they might acquire wealth without the cost of toil, or the stigma of indelible disgrace attached to certain heinous crimes; and this circumstance, together with not unnatural partiality, induced him to take measures for the introduction of a better system among the military servants of the company, with far more gentleness than he had evinced in dealing with the civilians. The officers were to be compelled to renounce all trading pursuits: this was the first reform to be carried out by Clive; the second was the final and uncompensated withdrawal of an extra allowance, called *batta*, given since an early period, but now to be abolished, excepting at some par-

ticular stations where, on account of the dearness of articles necessary to Europeans, it was to be either wholly or partially continued. The allowance originally granted by the company had been doubled by Meer Jaffier, who, at the instigation of Clive, paid the additional sum out of his own pocket, besides the regular expense of the English troops engaged in his service, but ostensibly as a boon revocable at pleasure. His successor, Meer Cossim Ali, made over to the company the districts of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, in lieu of certain monthly payments; and although the revenues of these territories more than covered the cost of the army, including the *double batta*, the directors, considering the large profits of their servants and their own necessities, stringently ordered the discontinuance of this allowance. Their repeated injunctions, the civil government, overawed by the military, had never dared to enforce; and even Clive did not bring forward the question of double *batta* until the restoration of peace had enabled him to remodel the army by forming it into regiments and brigades, with an increased number of field-officers.† These improvements were effected without opposition, and the prohibition of officers receiving perquisites, or engaging in certain branches of trade, was compensated in Clive's plan by allowing them a liberal share in the monopoly of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco. The proportions to be received by the senior servants of the company, independent of their fixed salaries, according to the lowest calculation, were £7,000 sterling per annum to a councillor or colonel, £3,000 to a lieutenant-colonel, £2,000 to a major or factor. Some scanty amends for the shameless oppression of taxing the natives thus heavily, was made by placing the management of the trade in their hands instead of under the guidance of European agents; but even this measure was adopted from the purely selfish motive of saving expense.‡

* In Chatham's words, "a heaven-born general."

† Previous to the capture of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah, the Bengal establishment consisted of one small company of artillery, about sixty European infantry (including officers), and 300 Portuguese half-caste, called topasses; out of the above, three captains, five lieutenants, and four ensigns perished in the Black-Hole. On the recapture of Calcutta, a battalion of sepoys was raised and officered from the detachments which had been sent from Madras to the relief of Fort William; and others were subsequently formed in like manner; until, at Plassy, in 1757, the British force comprised 3,000 sepoys. In 1760 there

were sixty European officers, viz.—nineteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and fifteen ensigns. In 1765, Clive found the amount raised to four companies of artillery, a troop of hussars, about 1,200 regular cavalry, twenty-four companies of European infantry, and nineteen battalions or regiments of sepoys—in all, about 20,000 men—whom he divided into three brigades, each comprising one European regiment, one company of artillery, six regiments of sepoys, and one troop of native cavalry. The brigades were respectively stationed at Monghyr, Bankipoor (near Patna), and Allahabad.—(Strachey's *Bengal Mutiny*.)

‡ Even Clive admitted that by his arrangement the

As yet all had proceeded smoothly, so far as the military were concerned, and Clive, with his usual self-reliance, considering the time at length arrived when the double batta might be safely abolished, withdrew it at the close of the year 1765. The remonstrances of the officers were treated as the idle complaints of disappointed men, and several months passed without any apprehension arising of serious consequences, until towards the end of April a misunderstanding among the parties concerned suddenly revealed the existence of a powerful and organised combination,* formed by the majority of the leading commanders, aided and abetted by many influential civilians, to compel the restoration of the extra allowances. It was a great and formidable emergency, but "*Frangas non flectes*" had been ever the motto of Clive, and now, rejecting all temporising measures, or idea of a compromise, he came forward with a deep conviction of the danger with which the precedent of military dictation would be fraught, and a firm resolve to subdue the mutiny or perish in the attempt. And there was real danger in the case; for his imperious bearing, combined with the unpopular regulations he came to enforce, had rendered him an object of strong personal ill-feeling to many individuals of note; yet, when told of threats against his life, alleged to have been uttered by one of the officers, he treated the report as an unworthy calumny, declaring that the mutineers were "Englishmen, not assassins." The dauntless courage which had distinguished the youthful defender of Arcot again found ample scope for exertion: it was no longer the over-dressed baron of Plassy †—the successful candidate for power and self—

the head of the then generally detested class of Anglo-Indian "nabobs,"—but plain Robert Clive, who now, in the full vigour of manhood, his heavy, overhanging brow expressing more forcibly than words a stern purpose, set forth, not in the palanquin of the governor, but, soldier-like, on horseback, to face the disaffected troops. There were still some few officers on whom reliance could be placed; others were summoned from Madras and Bombay: commissions were liberally scattered throughout the ranks; the services of civilians were used to supply vacancies; and increase of pay, for a fixed period, was promised to the common soldiers, whom the officers, to their credit, had made no attempt to corrupt. The danger was in some sort increased by a threatened incursion of the Mahrattas, under their chief minister, the peishwa Mahdoo Rao; yet, on the other hand, this very circumstance aroused in the breasts of many of the malcontents a feeling of shame at the thought of deserting their colours in the face of the foe. The Monghyr brigade, under Sir Robert Fleteher, was the one in which the determination to resign had been most general; and Clive, after a long harangue, perceiving indications of a disposition to resist his orders, took advantage of the steady obedience of the sepoys, by directing them to fire on the officers unless they dispersed immediately. A general submission followed; courts-martial were held, and many of the delinquents cashiered: among others Sir Robert Fleteher, the head of the Monghyr brigade, who, although active in subduing the confederacy, was found to have been gravely implicated in its formation. No blood was shed in these proceedings, and the result proved that such severity would

price of salt had been made too high for the natives, and the profit to the monopolists unreasonably large.—(Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, iii., 259.)

* From the month of December, 1765, consultations had been held and committees formed under the veil of Masonic lodges, and no less than 200 officers pledged themselves to resign their commissions on 1st of June, 1766, but agreed to proffer their services for another fortnight, by the expiration of which time it was expected the extensive defection would compel Clive to consent to the restoration of the double batta. In the event of capital punishment being decreed by courts-martial, they swore to prevent the execution of any comrade at the cost of life; and each one signed a penalty bond of £500 not to re-accept his commission if offered, unless the object of the confederacy were gained.

† Like most biographers, Sir John Malcolm and his coadjutors have endeavoured to set forth the character of their hero in the most favourable light, and by this means have drawn a picture which every

impartial reader must feel to be incomplete and one-sided. The termination of the life of Clive by his own hand is not even hinted at; and there is much reason to believe the same partiality to have chiefly guided the selection of letters for publication. Nevertheless, a very amusing one has crept in, addressed by Clive to his intimate friend and agent, Orme the historian, filled with commissions as numerous and minute in detail as any ever received by a London lady of fashion from a country cousin. Among the items, all of which were to be "the best and finest to be got for love or money," were 200 shirts, with wristbands and ruffles, worked to order. The dress of Clive at the durbar (or Oriental levee) was a "fine scarlet coat with handsome gold lace," which one of his purveyors, Captain Latham, considered preferable to "the common wear of velvet." The thick-set figure of Clive, arrayed in a scarlet coat lined with parchment that the cloth might not wrinkle, must have presented a strange contrast to the graceful forms and picturesque attire of the Indian nobles.

have involved a needless sacrifice; but the merit of moderation does not rest with Clive, who declared that his endeavours were not wanting to get several of the mutinous ring-leaders shot; but his efforts were neutralised by some wholesome doubts in the minds of the judges regarding the extent of the company's authority. In the words of Sir John Malcolm "a misconstruction of the mutiny act inclined the court-martial to mercy." It is a singular ending to the affair, that Sir Robert Fletcher, after this narrow escape, returned to India as commander-in-chief for the Madras presidency; while one John Petrie, sent home by Clive with a rope round his neck, came back to Bengal with a high civil appointment, through the influence of his

* The conduct of Clive, in respect to pecuniary gain, during his second administration, is too important to be left unnoticed; yet the facts necessary to place it in a clear light, can be ill given within the compass of a note. It should be remembered, that by his agreement with the E. I. body, the famous jaghire was to be continued to him for ten years, and provided he should survive that period, was to become the property, not of Meer Jaffier, but of the company. Now jaghires, by the constitution of the Mogul government, in which they originated, were simply annuities, given for the most part expressly for the support of a military contingent. A jaghire was like an office of state, revocable at pleasure; so far from being hereditary, an omrah, or lord of the empire, could not even bequeath his savings without special permission; and we have seen that the Great Moguls—Aurangzebe for instance—never scrupled to exercise their claim as heirs to a deceased noble, leaving to the bereaved family a very limited maintenance as a matter of favour. Clive had solicited this jaghire simply to support his position as an omrah, and had no right whatever to expect its continuance for the purpose of building palaces and buying up rotten boroughs in England. The company might therefore well question the right of Meer Jaffier to bestow, or of their powerful servant to accept, as a perpetual jaghire the quit-rent paid by them for their territory in Bengal. But the question was altogether a perplexed one, inasmuch as Meer Jaffier's claims were wholly founded on the usurpation which had been accomplished by English instrumentality. Shah Alum was the only person who could have rightfully demanded a quit-rent from the company when bestowing on them the dewannee; but the truth was, that every advantage was taken of his necessitous position, regardless of the dictates of justice. The confirmation of the jaghire to Lord Clive, with reversion to the company in perpetuity, was exacted from the emperor; and in thus obtaining a boon for his employers, Clive was far from being uninfluenced by selfish motives; for, on coming to India, he was distinctly told that the strict observance of his pledge—of refraining from every description of irregular gain—should be acknowledged in a manner which must satisfy the expectations even of a man who, after a most extravagant course of expenditure, had still an income of £10,000 a-year. And when, on his return to England, the term of the jaghire was extended

friends the Johnstones. Soon after this dispersion of one of the most dangerous storms which ever menaced the power of the E. I. Company, the health of Clive failed rapidly, and though earnestly solicited to continue at least another year, and apparently not unwilling to do so, bodily infirmity prevailed, and he quitted Bengal for the third and last time in January, 1767. Shortly before his departure, the young nabob, Nujeem-ad-Dowlah, died of fever, and his brother Syef-ad-Dowlah was permitted to succeed him. In a political point of view the change was of less importance than would have been that of the chief of a factory, but it was advantageous to the company in a pecuniary sense, as affording an opportunity for reducing the stipend.*

for ten years, or, in other words, £300,000 were guaranteed to him or his heirs, Clive had surely reason to admit that "no man had ever been more liberally rewarded." Nevertheless, his administration, even in a pecuniary point of view, had not been blameless. On arriving in India, it appeared that Meer Jaffier had bequeathed to Clive five lacs of rupees, which were in the hands of Munnee Begum, the mother of the reigning prince. Whether Meer Jaffier really left this sum either from friendship to Clive, or from a desire to propitiate him in favour of his favourite concubine and children, or whether they themselves offered a present in the only form in which he could have any excuse for accepting it, is not known; but it was no one's interest to examine into the affair, since Clive thought fit to set the matter at rest by employing the money as a fund greatly needed for the relief of the disabled officers and soldiers of the Bengal establishment, with their widows, and thus laid the foundation of the present establishment at Poplar. Even, however, in this case Clive took care of his personal interests, by inserting a clause in the deed providing that in case of the failure of his interest in the jaghire (then only guaranteed for ten years, of which a considerable portion had expired), the whole five lacs should revert to him. He moreover contrived to make the fund a weapon of political power, by threatening to exclude from it all persons whom he might think "undeserving in any respect soever."—(iii., 43.) With regard to the large sums of money *avowedly* received by him during his second administration, it certainly appears that he did not apply them to the increase of his fixed income, but systematically appropriated the overplus of such gains to the benefit of certain connections and friends (*i.e.*, his brother-in-law, Mr. Maskelyne; his physician, Mr. Ingham; and a Mr. Strachey, his secretary), "as a reward," he writes, in his grand-bashaw style, "for their services and constant attention upon my person."—(iii., 136.) On his arrival in India he at once embarked largely in the salt trade, and thereby realised in nine months a profit, including interest, of forty-five per cent.; his share in the monopoly of salt, established in defiance of the repeated orders of the company, was also greatly beyond that of any individual; and it is certain he employed these and other irregular gains for purely private purposes. Besides this, he sanctioned the unwarrantable conduct of many favoured officers in continuing to re-

It is hardly necessary to remark that the Bengal presidency did not assume a loftier tone of feeling in questions regarding religion or morality under the auspices of Lord Clive. The priestly office was not then deemed inconsistent with mercantile pursuits; and the saving of souls gave place to the engrossing cares of money-making. As to the general state of society, Clive's own account affords abundant evidence of the aptitude with which cadets and writers, fresh from public schools, or, it may be from the pure atmosphere of a quiet home, plunged headlong into a career of extravagance and notorious profligacy, of which the least revolting description would have made their mothers sicken with disgust. One walk about Calcutta would, it appears, suffice to show a stranger that the youngest writers lived in splendid style, which Lord Clive explains, by saying "that they ride upon fine prancing Arabian horses, and in palanquins and chaises; that they keep seraglios, make entertainments, and treat with champagne and claret;"—the certain result being, to become over head and ears in debt to the banyan, or native agent, who, for the

sake of obtaining the cover afforded by the bare name of a servant of the powerful English company, supplied the youths with immense sums of money, and committed "such acts of violence and oppression as his interest prompts him to."* It may be remembered that Clive commenced his own Indian career by getting into debt; and there is reason to believe that for *all* the proceedings mentioned by him in the above quotation, the company's servants might have pleaded his lordship's conduct in extenuation of their own.†

After the departure of Clive, a select committee continued, by his advice, to preside over the affairs of Bengal, the chair of the governor being filled by Mr. Verelst until December, 1770. During the administration of this gentleman and his temporary successor, Mr. Cartier, no changes were made in the system of the "double government:" that is to say, of a sway carried on in the name of a nabob, but in reality by English officials. Mill forcibly describes the utter want of any efficient system, or of well-known and generally recognised laws, which formed the prevailing

eeive presents after they had been required to sign covenants enjoining their rejection. For instance, his staunch adherent, General Carnae, after his colleagues had executed the covenants, delayed a certain time, during which he received a present of 70,000 rupees from Bulwant Singh, the Hindoo rajah of Benares, who joined the English against Shuja Dowlah; and he appears to have afterwards obtained permission to appropriate a further sum of two lacs of rupees, given by the emperor, whose unquestioned poverty did not shield him from the extortions of British officers. It has been urged that Clive made atonement for the doubtful means by which he acquired his wealth by its liberal distribution; and the act chiefly insisted upon is the grant of an annuity of £500 a-year to General Lawrence, when he left India enfeebled by asthmatic complaints and the increasing infirmities of age, and returned in honourable poverty to his native land. Considering that Clive acknowledged that to the patronage and instructions of Lawrence he owed all his early success, the extent of the allowance was no very remarkable evidence of a munificent disposition. The dowries of three or four thousand pounds each to his five sisters, with an injunction "to marry as soon as possible, for they had no time to lose" (ii., 161), evince a strong desire to get them off his hands. The princely estates purchased by him, in various parts of the country, were undisguised manifestations of his ostentatious mode of life: among them may be named the noble property of Claremont (obtained from the Duchess of Newcastle), Walcot, Lord Chatham's former residence at Bath, and a house in Berkeley-square. No description of expense was spared to render these aristocratic dwellings fitting exponents of the grandeur of the Indian *millionnaire*; and the smaller accessories of picture galleries and

pleasure-grounds did not hinder Clive from carefully following out his leading object—of obtaining parliamentary influence. Six or seven members were returned at his expense, and their efforts doubtless did much to mitigate, though they could not wholly avert, the storm which burst over his head in 1772. The decision of the committee employed in examining his past conduct pronounced, as was fitting, a sentence of mingled praise and condemnation. He had notoriously abused the powers entrusted to him by the nation and the company; but he had rendered to both important services. Such a decision was ill calculated to soothe the excited feelings of Clive, whose haughty nature had writhed under proceedings in which he, the Baron of Plassy, had been "examined like a sheep-stealer." The use of opium, to which he had been from early youth addicted, aggravated the disturbed state of his mind, without materially alleviating the sufferings of his physical frame; and he died by his own hand in Nov., 1774, having newly entered his fiftieth year.—(Malcolm's *Life*.)

* Clive's speech on East Indian Judicature Bill, March, 1722.—(Hansard's *Parl. Hist.*, 355.)

† The French translator of the *Siyar ul Mutakherin* (who was in the service of the Bengal presidency and well acquainted with Clive, to whom he occasionally acted as interpreter) explains a forcible denunciation by Gholam Hussein, of the conduct of certain persons who were tempted by the devil to bring disgrace on families, as an allusion to the violation of all decorum committed by Meer Jaffier, in giving to Clive "ten handsome women out of his seraglio—that is, out of Surajah Dowlah's." Had the donation been conferred on a good Mussulman, instead of a disbeliever in the Koran, the sin would, it seems, have been thereby greatly diminished.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, i., 722.)

feature of this period. The native tribunals retained scarce the shadow of authority; the trade of the country was almost ruined by the oppressions committed on the people; and the monopoly of the inland traffic in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, when at length unwillingly relinquished by the English officials, did not prove the relief to the Bengalee merchants that might have been expected, owing to the heavy pressure of tyranny and extortion to which they were subjected. In fact, there were so many channels by which the natives could be wronged and the company plundered, that closing up one or two might change the direction of the flood, but could not diminish its volume. Clive was naturally unwilling to acknowledge how much of the task for which he had been munificently rewarded had been left unfulfilled; and it was not till after long and bitter experience that the E. I. Cy. learned to appreciate, at their proper value, his exaggerated account of the revenues* obtained through his aggressive policy. And here it may be well to pause and consider for a moment the nature of our position in Bengal, and, indeed, in the whole of the south of India. The insatiable ambition of Aurungzebe had urged him onwards without ceasing, until every Mohammedan kingdom in the Deccan had become absorbed in the Mogul empire. The impolicy of this procedure has been before remarked on. The tottering base forbade the extension of an already too weighty superstructure; but the emperor persevered to the last. Beejapoor and Golconda fell before him, and the governments established by their usurping dynasties were swept off by a conqueror who had time to destroy institutions, but not to replace them. The result was the rapid rise of the many-headed Mahratta power, and the equally rapid decay of Mogul supremacy, even while Aurungzebe, his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons were all in arms together for its support. The death of the emperor, well nigh hunted down by the foes who from despising he had learned to hate, followed as it was by repeated wars of

succession and intestine feuds, reduced his descendants, step by step, until their last representative, Shah Alum, became nothing better than the pageant of every successful party. The disastrous battle of Paniput (1761) left the Mahratta state thoroughly unhinged, and, together with internal strife, incapacitated its rulers for assuming that dominant position in India under which such men as Sevajee, Bajee Rao, or the first peishwa, Maharashtra, would doubtless have aspired. In fact, India in the middle of the eighteenth century, resembled, in a political point of view, a vast battle-field strewn with the fragments of ruined states, and affording on every side abundant evidence of a prolonged and severe conflict, from which even the victors had emerged irretrievably injured. In the Deccan this was especially the case; and the only relies of legitimate power rested with a few small Hindoo states (Tanjore, Mysoor, Coorg, &c.), whose physical position or insignificance had enabled them to retain independence amid the general crash of monarchies. The representatives of the E. I. Cy. in India understood the state of affairs, but very imperfectly: it appears that, in 1756, they did not even clearly know who Ballajee Bajee Rao (the actual ruler of the Mahratta state) might be; but at the same time, they had been too long anxious spectators of the proceedings of Aurungzebe and his successors, to be ignorant of the thoroughly disorganised state of the empire. The successful manœuvres of Dupleix and Bussy must have sufficed to remove any lingering doubt on the subject; while the jealousy of the two nations in Europe rendered it evident, that in the absence of a native power (Mussulman or Hindoo) sufficiently strong to compel their neutrality, a contest for supremacy must, sooner or later, take place between the French and English, especially as the former had all along assumed political pretensions ill at variance with the peaceful pursuits of trade. Without entering on the difficult question of the general proceedings of the English company, far

* In addressing the House of Commons, in 1772, Clive described Bengal as "a country containing fifteen millions of inhabitants, a revenue of £4,000,000, and trade in proportion." The extreme distress then existing he treated as a temporary effect of dissensions in the company at home, and misgovernment in India, dating of course from his departure; and he spoke of the venality that prevailed, equally among high and low, with a bold assumption of disinterestedness, declaring, "that in the richest country

in the world, where the power of the English had become absolute, where no inferior approached his superior but with a present in his hand, where there was not an officer commanding H.M. fleet, nor an officer commanding H.M. army, nor a governor, nor a member of council, nor any other person, civil or military, in such a station as to have connection with the country government who had not received presents, it was not to be expected the inferior officers should be more scrupulous."—*Almon's Debates*, 1772.

less attempting to vindicate the special aggressions and tricky policy of Clive and his successors, it seems, nevertheless, of absolute necessity to bear in mind the hopeless complication of affairs through which Anglo-Indian statesmen had to grope their way at this critical period; nor do I feel any inconsistency, after employing the best years of my life in pleading—faintly and feebly, but most earnestly—the rights of native British subjects (made such by the sword), in avowing, in the present instance, my conviction, that having once taken a decided course by the deposition of Surajah Dowlah, it would have been better to have assumed at once all power, in name as in reality, over Bengal, and given the natives the benefits they were entitled to expect under a Christian government, instead of mocking their hopes by placing on the musnud a Mussulman usurper of infamous character,—deposing, reinstating, and after his death continuing the pretence in the person of his illegitimate son. Such an unworthy subterfuge could answer no good purpose; it could deceive no one—certainly not the European governments of Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France; for they were severally experienced actors in the theatre of oriental policy. The native population knew, to their cost, that all real authority was now vested in the English presidency; but its members were far too eagerly employed in gathering up spoil for themselves, to heed the cries of the poor in Bengal, or the remonstrances of the company in England. The consequence was, the “middle-men” reaped an abundant harvest, heedless of the ruinous effects of their negligence and venality alike on those they served and those they governed. The directors in London, buoyed up by the representations of Clive, and the flattering promises of their servants abroad, augmented their dividends, fully expecting to find this step justified by largely increasing remittances from India. On the contrary, the anarchy which prevailed, and the additional expenses of every department of government, with the abuses that crept in,* swallowed up the diminishing revenues; and though every ship brought home individuals who had amassed wealth as if by magic, yet heavy bills continued to be drawn on the company; the

* Clive, in allusion to the charges of contractors, commissioners, engineers, &c., said—“Every man now who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune.” During his own administration, he found soldiers charged for in the hospital-list, whose funeral expenses had been long paid.—(*Life*, iii., 137–288.)

bullion sent for the China trade was wholly, or in part, appropriated; and the investments continued to diminish alike in quantity and quality. The British government had before set forth a claim to control both the revenues and territorial arrangements of India. The subject was warmly contested in parliament; and in 1767, a bill passed obliging the E. I. Cy. to pay the sum of £400,000 per annum into the public treasury,† during the five years for which alone their exclusive privileges were formally extended. In 1769, a new term of five years was granted, on the same condition as that above stated, with the additional stipulation of annually exporting British manufactures to the amount of £300,000 and upwards. The directors, in the following year (1770), declared a dividend at the rate of twelve per cent; but this improvident procedure was taken in the face of a failing revenue and an increasing debt. In the Carnatic, the ill-advised pledge of co-operation with the Nizam had brought the Madras presidency in collision with Hyder Ali; and in Bengal, affairs grew more and more involved, until the necessity for a change of policy became evident to save the country from ruin and the company from bankruptcy. Mr. Vansittart (the ex-governor), Mr. Sraffton, and Colonel Forde, were sent out in 1769, to investigate and arrange the business of the three presidencies: but this measure proved of no effect; for the *Aurora* frigate, in which they sailed, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, was never more heard of, and probably foundered at sea.

The loss of Mr. Vansittart was a new disaster to the native population of Bengal, since he well knew the ruinous condition to which they had been reduced by the baneful influence of the monopolies so cruelly enforced by his countrymen; and notwithstanding the perverse proceedings of Clive, and his adherents in the E. I. House in associating with him as fellow-commissioner his sworn foe, Luke Sraffton, still some comprehensive measure might have been expected to have been devised by a man generally considered kind-hearted, to relieve the overwhelming misery in which he would have found the native population involved, had he been permitted to reach

† The E. I. Cy. themselves proposed to purchase the extension of their privileges by suffering the public to participate in the territorial acquisitions gained with the aid of the army and navy. The government interfered (ostensibly at least) to check the simultaneous increase of debt and dividend.

Calcutta in safety. The miseries of a land long a prey to oppression and misgovernment, had been brought to their climax by drought. The rice crops of December, 1768, and August, 1769, were both scanty, and the absence of the heavy periodical rains, usual in October, produced an almost total failure of the harvest earnestly desired in the following December. The inferior crops of grain and pulse ordinarily reaped between February and April, were dried to powder by the intense heat, and Bengal, formerly the granary of India, became the scene of one of the most awful famines on record. Not merely whole families, but even the inhabitants of entire villages were swept off by this devastating scourge.* The bark and leaves of trees were eagerly devoured by thousands of starving wretches, who therewith strove—too often in vain—to appease the gnawing pangs of hunger, happy if their sufferings did not goad them to seek relief by more unnatural and loathsome means; for the last horrors that marked the siege of the Holy City were not wanting here; the child fed on its dead parent, the mother on her offspring. The people thronged the towns in the hope of obtaining succour, the highways were strewn with the corpses of those who had perished by the way, and the streets of Moorshedabad and Calcutta were blocked up with the dying and the dead. Day after day the Hooghly rolled down a pestilential freight of mortality, depositing loathsome heaps near to the porticoes and gardens of the English residents. For a time a set of persons were regularly employed in removing the rapidly accumulating masses from the public thoroughfares; but the melancholy office proved fatal to all employed in it: exposure to the effluvia was certain death; and during the worst period, dogs, vultures, and jackals were the only scavengers. The hot, unwholesome air was filled with shrieks and

lamentations, amidst which arose the voices of tender and delicate women, nurtured in all the refinements of oriental seclusion, who now came forth unveiled, and on their knees besought a handful of rice for themselves and their children.†

Large subscriptions were raised by the presidency, the native government, and individuals of all ranks and countries. In Moorshedabad alone, 7,000 persons were fed daily for several months; and fearful scenes, involving the destruction of large numbers of the weak and the aged, took place at these distributions, from the fierce struggles of the famished multitudes. Of the total amount of life destroyed by this calamity, no trustworthy estimate has ever been given.‡ Mr. Hastings—perhaps the best authority—supposes Bengal and Bahar to have lost no less than half their inhabitants: other writers state the depopulation at one-third; and even the lowest calculations place the loss at three million of human beings—or one-fifth the inhabitants of the three provinces (including Orissa.)

The question of how far the Bengal authorities were to blame for this calamity, was warmly discussed in England. Their accusers went the length of attributing it wholly to a monopoly of rice by them; but this was so far from being the case, that, with the exception of the necessary measure of storing a sufficient quantity (60,000 maunds) for the use of the army, all trading in grain was strictly forbidden by an order of council in September, 1769. If, as was asserted, certain functionaries did—as is very possible, in defiance of prohibitions, enunciated but not enforced§—make enormous profits of hoards previously accumulated, these were but exceptional cases; and it may be added (without any attempt to exculpate those who, in the face of misery so extreme, could bargain coolly for exorbitant gains), that the reason for regret was

* The anonymous but well-informed author of *English Transactions in the East Indies*, published at Cambridge in 1776, states, that the duty laid by Clive on salt was thirty-five per cent.; the previous tax, even under the monopolies established by Mohammedan nabobs, having been only two-and-a-half. He adds, that the five gentlemen who signed resolutions regarding trading monopolies in India, to levy taxes upon necessities of more than one-third their value, instead of the fortieth penny with which they were before charged, were all, on their return to England, chosen as members of parliament to co-operate in arranging the national assessments.—(143.)

† *Vide Syar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 438. Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, i., 214. Macaulay's *Clive*, 83.

‡ Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 309. Malcolm's *Clive*, iii., 253. Grant's *Sketch*, 319.

§ The author of *English Transactions*, recently quoted, concurs with many writers of the period in asserting, that some of the company's agents, finding themselves conveniently situated for the collection of rice in stores, did buy up large quantities, which they so managed as to increase immensely the selling price to the people, for their private gain (p. 145); and Dr. Moodie, in his *Transactions in India* (published anonymously in London in 1776, but of which a copy bearing his name, with many MS. additions, is in the possession of the E. I. Co.), mentions the case of a needy English functionary at the court of the nabob, who made £60,000 in a few months.

not that some few persons had had the forethought to make provision for the day of want, but that a policy of evident necessity should have been neglected by the rulers of a population mainly dependent for subsistence on so precarious a staple as rice. The true cause of complaint against the Bengal presidency—and it is a heavy one—rests on the systematic oppression and utter misgovernment which their own records reveal as having existed, despite the orders of the directors in England. These again, deceived by the gross exaggerations of Clive, looked upon Bengal as a fountain fed by unseen springs, from which wealth, to an immense extent, might be perpetually drawn, without the return of any considerable proportion to the country from whence it was derived. Clive, during his second administration, had promised the company a net income from Bengal of £2,000,000 per annum, exclusive of all civil or military disbursements; and he declared in parliament, in 1772, that India continued to yield “a clear produce to the public, and to individuals, of between two and three million sterling per annum.”* It is certain that the Bengal investment of 1771, amounting in goods alone to £768,500, was “wholly purchased with the revenues of the country, and without importing a single ounce of silver”†—a fact which abundantly confirms the declaration of Hastings,—that the sufferings of the people, during the famine, were increased by the

violent measures adopted to keep up the revenues, especially by an assessment termed *na-jay*, “a tax (in a word) upon the survivors, to make up the deficiencies of the dead.”‡ Besides this, when the immense and absolutely incalculable amount of specie exported, from the time of the deposition of Surajah Dowlah to the epoch of the famine, is considered in connexion with the notorious deficiency of the circulating medium, and the abuses and erroneous policy connected with the coinage,§ it is easy to understand how fearfully scarcity of money must have aggravated the evils of failing harvests; and how, when rice rose from a standard of price (already permanently augmented under British supremacy to four, six, and even ten times the usual rate), it became of little importance to the penniless multitudes whether it might or might not be purchased for a certain sum, when all they had in the world fell short of the market value of a single meal. In England, the rates of labour are always more or less influenced by the price of provisions; but when the Bengal merchants endeavoured to raise the manufacturing standard, their attempts were soon forcibly put down by the local authorities, who well knew that Indian goods, purchased at a premium consistent even with a Bengalee’s humble notion of a “fair day’s wages for a fair day’s work,” would not, when sold in the European markets, indemnify the company for prime cost, for

* Malcolm’s *Life of Clive*, iii., 287.

† Verelst’s *State of Bengal*, see pp. 81–85.

‡ Gleig’s *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 310.

§ A cotemporary English writer, reviewing the evidence given before parliament in 1772, remarks, that from 1757 to 1771, it is acknowledged or proved, that the E. I. Co. and their servants received between twenty-nine and thirty millions sterling from Indian princes and their subjects, besides a sum not known, arising from trading monopolies.—(Parker’s *Evidence*, 281.) Of the amount above stated, the company received nearly twenty-four million, and their servants upwards of five-and-a-half as presents, which were, however, but one form of what Clive termed the “long track of frauds under the customary disguise of perquisites,” which annually brought laes to junior servants whose salaries were mere pittance.—(*Life of Clive*, iii., 84; *Life of Hastings*, i., 300.) No estimate could be formed of the fortunes thus accumulated, because the prohibition of the directors to send remittances home, exceeding a certain limited amount, by bills drawn on them in England, led Clive and the whole body of officials who, at a humble distance, followed in his footsteps, to invest their wealth in the purchase of diamonds, or to transmit vast sums through the medium of the Dutch and French companies, by which means these inferior settlements had money in abundance, while the investments at Calcutta were often procured by

loans, of which eight per cent. was the lowest interest taken for a long series of years. Among the charges brought against Clive, when examined before parliament in 1772, were frauds in the exchange and the gold coinage. According to Ferishta, no silver coin was used in India as late as A.D. 1311; and Colonel Briggs, in commenting on this passage, remarks, that up to a very late period, the chief current coin in the south of India was a small gold fanam, worth about sixpence.—(i., 375.) Since then, however, gold having been entirely superseded by silver, measures were instituted to bring the former again into circulation; and on the new coinage Clive received a heavy percentage, as governor. The ill-fated bankers—Juggut Seit and his brother—had introduced a tax on the silver currency during the short reign of Surajah Dowlah, which the English very improperly adopted. It consisted in issuing coins called *sicca* rupees, every year, at five times their actual value, and insisting on the revenues being paid in this coin only, during the period of its arbitrary value—that is, during the year of coinage. In three years it sank to the actual value of the silver; but its possessor, on payment of three per cent., might have it recoined into a new *sicca* rupee of the original exaggerated value. Vide Dow’s account of this ingenious method of yearly “robbing the public of three per cent. upon the greater part of their current specie.”—(*History of Hindoostan*, i., Introduction, p. cxlvii.)

duties and other expenses, exclusive of the profit, which is the originating motive of all commercial associations. Now, it is a well-known fact, that many men who, in their private capacity, would sooner face ruin than inflict it on the innocent, will, as members of a senate or corporation (under the influence of a vague notion of state-necessity or the good of proprietors, whose interests it is their acknowledged duty to consult), institute proceedings of a character utterly opposed to the simple principles of action which guide them in the daily intercourse of domestic life. Flagrant wrong they shrink from with unaffected disgust; but still there are few men who do not, with strange inconsistency, manifest by their practice that public affairs require a constant sacrifice of integrity to expediency, which once admitted as justifiable in their private career, must inevitably destroy the mutual confidence which forms the basis of that distinguishing national characteristic—an English home. The ignorance of the E. I. Cy. of the actual state of affairs (in great measure the result of the newness of their position), was doubtless the leading cause of their suffering the continuance of many unquestionably faulty practices, from the difficulty of providing efficient substitutes. The course of events was well fitted to teach them the great lesson—that there is no course so dangerous to rulers as a persistence in tyranny and misgovernment. The misery of the mass, aggravated by the shameless extortions of English functionaries, necessitated a large increase of military expenses: * taxes were literally enforced at the point of the bayonet; “bur-jaut,” or the compulsory sale of articles at less than their actual cost, became a notorious practice; and, simultaneous with these iniquitous proceedings in India, were the pecuniary involvements of the company in London; and, what was yet more disgraceful, the fierce strife between the proprietors and directors, and again between both these and his majesty’s ministers.

While the sums obtained from Meer Jaffier and Cossim Ali were in process of payment, the affairs of the company went on smoothly enough: annual supplies were furnished for the China trade, and likewise for the Madras presidency (which was always in difficulties, notwithstanding the various

sums obtained from Mohammed Ali, the nabob of Arcot), while five lacs or more were yearly drawn by the Bombay presidency.† The dividend of the E. I. Cy., from Christmas, 1766, to Midsummer, 1772, averaged eleven per cent. per annum; during the last-named year it had reached twelve-and-a-half per cent., and this notwithstanding the stipulated payment to government of £100,000, in return for the continuance of the charter. Meantime the bonded debt of Bengal increased from £612,628, in 1771, to £1,700,000, in 1772; and the company, though most unwillingly, were obliged to throw themselves upon the mercy of the ministry (of which the Duke of Grafton and Lord North were at the head), and confess their utter inability to furnish their annual quota; and further, their necessity of soliciting from the Bank of England a loan of above a million sterling to carry on the commercial transactions of the ensuing season.

The government, thus directly appealed to, had ample grounds for instituting an inquiry into the condition of an association which, notwithstanding its immense trading and territorial revenues, had again become reduced to the verge of bankruptcy. It was argued, that the bitter complaints of venality and mismanagement, freely reciprocated by the directors and the servants of the company, were, on both sides, founded in truth. Moreover, the representations made on behalf of Mohammed Ali by his agents, particularly Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Macpherson, had considerable effect, not only generally in producing an unfavourable opinion of the dealings of the E. I. Cy. with Indian princes, but specially by inducing the sending to Arcot of a royal ambassador, Sir John Lindsay, and subsequently of Sir Robert Harland, between both of whom and the local government the most open hostility existed. These proceedings have had too little permanent effect to need being detailed at length, but they illustrate the state of feeling which led to the parliamentary investigations of 1772, and resulted in the first direct connexion of the ministry with the management of East Indian affairs, by the measure commonly known as the *Regulating Act* of 1773. A loan was granted to the company of £1,100,000 in exchequer bills,‡ and various

* Dow asserts, that “seven entire battalions were added to our military establishment to enforce the collections.”—(*Hindoostan*, i., cxxxix.)

† *Original Papers*, sent from India and published in England by Governor Vansittart.—(ii., 74.)

‡ The conditions of the loan were, that the sur-

distinct provisions were made to amend the constitution of that body, both at home and abroad, and to ameliorate the condition of the native population newly brought under their sway. A governor-general (Warren Hastings) was nominated to preside over Bengal, and to some extent control the presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen (in Sumatra); the number of counsellors was reduced to four; and these, together with the governor-general, were appointed for five years;* the old Mayor's Court at Calcutta was set aside, and a Supreme Court of judicature, composed of a chief justice and three puisne judges (all English barristers) established in its place, and invested with civil, criminal, admiralty, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all British subjects† resident in the three provinces (Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa); but the governor-general and members of council were exempted, unless indicted for treason or felony. Europeans were strictly forbidden to enter into the inland traffic in salt, betel-nut, tobacco, and rice; and the governors, counsellors, judges, and revenue-collectors, were rigidly prohibited all trade whatever. Not only the covenanted servants of the company, but also the civil and military officers of the crown, were forbidden to receive presents from the natives; and the maximum of the legal rate of interest in Bengal was fixed at twelve per cent. per annum. Specific punishments were affixed to the violation of the above

enactments, on conviction before the Supreme Court.

The majority of these regulations were of a nature which, from the political character of the English constitution, could be enforced against British subjects only by the express authority of their national rulers.‡ The privy of the Crown thus of necessity established in the affairs of the company, was further secured by a proviso, that all financial and political advices transmitted from India, should, within fourteen days after their arrival, be communicated to the administration by the Court of Directors;§ and any ordinance of the governor-general in council might be disallowed by the Crown, provided its veto were pronounced within two years after the enactment of the obnoxious measure.

The state of Bengal, at the period at which we have now arrived, has been sufficiently shown in the foregoing pages. The only events still unnoticed with regard to the CALCUTTA PRESIDENCY, are the death of the nabob, Syef-ad-Dowlah, of small-pox; the accession of his brother, Mobarik-ad-Dowlah, a boy of ten years old; and the departure of Shah Alum from Allahabad to take possession of his own capital of Delli. After the retreat of the Doorani invader, the government of this city had been assumed by Nujeeb-oo-Dowla (the Rohilla chief frequently alluded to in previous pages), and, together with such authority, territorial and judicial, as yet remained

plus of the clear revenue of the company should be paid half-yearly into the exchequer, till the liquidation of the debt; that in the interim, their annual dividend should not exceed six per cent.; and that until the reduction of their total bond-debt to £1,500,000, the dividend should not exceed seven per cent.—(13 George III., c. 64.) Among the alterations made by this enactment in the internal arrangements of the association, was a decree for the annual election of six directors for the term of four years; the interval of a year to be then suffered to elapse before the same person could be again eligible; whereas the directors had been previously annually chosen for a single year, at the close of which they might be at once re-elected. The qualification for a vote was raised from £500 to £1,000 stock, and regulations were framed to prevent the collusive transfer of stock for electioneering purposes.

* The salary of the governor-general was fixed at £25,000 per ann.; the counsellors, £10,000 each; chief justice, £8,000; puisne judges, £6,000 each; to be received in lieu of all fees or perquisites.

† Notwithstanding the absolute nullity of any power in the youth on whom the title of nabob had been last conferred, the natives of Bengal were not yet viewed as British subjects; and by the *Regulating Act*, could not be sued in the Supreme Court,

(except upon any contract in writing, where the object in dispute exceeded 500 rupees in value), unless they were themselves willing to abide by the decision of that tribunal. This protective clause was set forth only in the directions for civil proceedings, and (probably from inadvertence) not repealed in those which regarded the penal court. The omission enabled the chief justice to adjudge the celebrated Nuncomar to death for forgery, at the suit of a native.

‡ The preamble to the act states it to have been a necessary measure, because several powers and authorities previously vested in the E. I. body had "been found, by experience, not to have sufficient force and efficacy to prevent various abuses which have prevailed in the government and affairs of the said company, as well at home as in India, to the manifest injury of the public credit, and of the commercial interests of the said company."

§ The regulations and ordinances decreed by the governor-general in council, were invalid unless duly registered and published in the Supreme Court of judicature. Appeals against any of them might be laid before the king in council by any person in India or in England, if lodged within sixty days after the publication of the act complained of, either at the Supreme Court or the E. I. House, where notices of all such measures were to be affixed.

connected therewith, was exercised by him in the name of the young prince, Jewan Bukht, the eldest son of Shah Alum, who had been left behind at the period of his father's flight in 1758. The encroachments of the Jat Rajah, Sooraj Mull, into whose hands Agra had fallen after the battle of Paniput, in 1761, resulted in a regular conflict between him and Nujeeb-oo-Dowla, in 1761. The rajah was killed at the very commencement of hostilities; and the encouragement of his son and successor, Jowher Sing, to prosecute the war by the assistance of the Mahratta chieftain, Mulhar Rao Holcar, proved ineffectual. In 1769, the peishwa's army crossed the Chumbul, and after desolating Rajast'han and levying arrears of chout from the Rajpoot princes, they proceeded to overrun the country of the Jats, which at this time extended from Agra to the borders of Delhi on the north-west, and near to Etawa on the south-east, and afforded a revenue of nearly £250,000. The Mahrattas gained a decided victory near Bhurtpoor, and made peace with the Jats on condition of receiving a sum of about £75,000. They then encamped for the monsoon, intending at its expiration to enter Rohileund, and revenge on the leading chiefs the part played by them in concert with the Afghan victor at the bloody field of Paniput. Nujeeb-oo-Dowla took advantage of the interval to negotiate a treaty on behalf of himself and the Rohillas in general; and his overtures were favourably received, on account of the mutual need each party had of the other to obtain an object desirable in the sight of both, the withdrawal of the emperor from the immediate influence of the English, and his re-establishment in Delhi. The arrangement was marred by the death of Nujeeb-oo-Dowla, at the close of 1770. His son, Zabita Khan, who appears to have inherited the ambition, unchecked by the loyalty or prudence of his father, assumed the charge of affairs, and showed no inclination to procure the return of his liege lord. In the following year, Rohileund was overrun by the Mahrattas; the strong fortress of Etawa fell into their hands; Delhi was seized by them, and Zabita Khan fled to Seharunpoor, the capital of his own patrimony in Rohileund.

The prince, Jewan Bukht, was treated with marked respect, and the emperor given to understand, that if he did not think fit to accept the repeated invitations made to him to return to his capital, his son would be formally placed on the throne. In an evil hour, Shah Alum yielded to a natural desire of taking possession of the scanty remains of imperial power which formed his ill-omened inheritance. The darkest hour he had hitherto encountered had afforded him experience of the fidelity of a Mahratta general;* nor does there seem to have been any sufficient reason for his anticipating the mercenary and unprincipled conduct which he eventually received at their hands, which, however, never equalled in treachery the proceedings of his professed friend and nominal servant, but most grasping and relentless foe, Shuja Dowlah, the cherished ally of the English. In fact, the insidious counsels and pecuniary aid furnished by this notable schemer, were mainly instrumental in resolving Shah Alum to quit Allahabad, which he did after receiving from the Bengal presidency a strong assurance "of the readiness with which the company would receive and protect him, should any reverse of fortune compel him once more to return to his provinces."† The commander-in-chief (Sir Robert Barker) and Shuja Dowlah attended the royal march to the frontier of the Corah district, and then took leave with every demonstration of respect and good-will; the latter declaring that nothing but the predominant influence of the Mahrattas at court prevented his proceeding thither and devoting himself to the performance of the duties of the vizierat. Shah Alum reached Delhi in December, 1771, and entered its ancient gates amid the acclamations of the populace. Happily, his enjoyment of this gleam of prosperity was unmarred by a knowledge of the almost unexampled miseries which awaited him during the chief part of the ensuing six-and-twenty years. Could but a passing glimpse of coming sorrows have been foreshadowed to him, the lowliest hut in Bengal would have seemed a blessed refuge from the agonies of mind and body he and his innocent family were doomed to endure within the stately walls of their ancestral home.

* Etal Rao lay encamped on the banks of the Jumna, when the emperor (then heir-apparent) fled from Delhi. He received the fugitive with the utmost kindness,—swore on the holy waters of the Ganges not to betray him; and more than redeemed

his pledge, in spite of threats and bribes, by guarding the prince for six months, and then escorting him to a place of safety.—(Franklin's *Shah Alum*.)

† Official Letter from Bengal, 31st August, 1771. Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 287

The BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, so far as its finances were concerned, continued to be a heavy tax on the E. I. Cy., the net revenue not sufficing to defray a third of its civil and military expenditure.*

In the MADRAS PRESIDENCY, events had taken place which the superior importance and interest of Bengal affairs have prevented from being noticed in chronological succession. Reference has been made to the ill-feeling which sprang up between the E. I. Cy. and Mohammed Ali (the nabob of their own nomination.) The cause was twofold—first, the English expected to find the province, of which Arcot was the capital, a mine of wealth, and hoped to derive from the nabob, when firmly established there, considerable pecuniary advantage. They soon discovered their mistake as to the amount of funds thus obtainable, and still more with regard to the expenditure of life and treasure to be incurred in establishing the power of a man who, though of very inferior capacity, was inordinately ambitious, and yet distrustful—not perhaps without cause—of the allies, by whose assistance alone his present position could be maintained, or his views of aggrandisement carried out. The chief points in the long-continued hostilities, undertaken by the presidency to enforce his very questionable claims to sovereignty or tribute, may be briefly noted, nor can the painful admission in justice be withheld—that many expeditions dispatched under the auspices of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Pigot, whatever their ostensible motive, were really prompted by a desire to replenish a treasury exhausted by military expenses, especially by the long war with the French, which commenced in 1746, and terminated with the reduction of Pondicherry in 1761. The miseries of the native population must have been too great to admit of much increased exaction. Since its first invasion by Aurungzebe,† the Carnatic had been, almost without interruption, the scene of rapine and disorganisation; imperial agents, usurping nabobs, and chont-collecting Malrattas had claimed revenues, and exacted contributions, as each

found opportunity; and the commanders of districts and forts maintained their often ill-gotten authority, by resisting or complying with the demands made upon them, according to the urgency of the case. But the great load of suffering fell ever on the unarmed and inoffensive peasantry, whose daily sustenance was to be procured by daily work. This suffering was not of a character peculiar to the epoch now under consideration: it would seem that, from time immemorial, the working classes of Hindoostan had practically experienced the scourge of war; for every one of the multifarious languages of the peninsula has a word answering to the Canarese term *Wulsa*, which, happily, cannot be explained in any European tongue without considerable circumlocution. The *Wulsa* denotes the entire population of a district, who, upon the approach of a hostile army, habitually bury their most cumbrous effects, quit their beloved homes, and all of them, even to the child that can just walk alone, laden with grain, depart to seek shelter (if, happily, it may be found) among some neighbouring community blessed with peace. More frequently the pathless woods and barren hills afford their sole refuge, until the withdrawal of the enemy enables them to return to cultivate anew the devastated fields. Such exile must be always painful and anxious: during its continuance the weak and aged die of fatigue; if long protracted, the strong too often perish by the more dreadful pangs of hunger. Colonel Wilks affirms, that the *Wulsa* never departed on the approach of a British army, when unaccompanied by Indian allies;‡ but this is poor comfort regarding the measures taken on behalf of Mohammed Ali, since there is no reason to suppose his troops more scrupulous than their fellows, or less feared by the unhappy peasantry. The fort and district of Vellore were captured for him, in 1761, from Murtazza Ali,§ with the assistance of the English, after a three months' siege; but the treasure taken there ill repaid the cost of the conquest. The latter part of 1763, and nearly the whole of the following twelve-

* In the *Report of Select Committee*, June, 1784, the net revenue of Bombay for the year ending April, 1774, is stated at £109,163; civil and military charges, £347,387: leaving a deficiency of £238,224.

† During the nineteen years preceding the death of Aurungzebe, in 1707, his favourite general, Zulfeekar Khan, was employed in the Carnatic in ceaseless and destructive hostilities; and it is recorded that nineteen actions were fought, and 3,000 miles

marched by this officer in six months only. Famine and pestilence—the direct consequences of prolonged and systematic devastation—followed, and even exceeded in their ravages the scourge of war. The terrible sufferings of the people, during this melancholy period, are affectingly described in many of the memoirs comprised in the valuable Mackenzie collection.

‡ Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, i., 309.

§ See previous pages, especially Note †, p. 252.

months, were taken up in a struggle with Mohammed Esoof, a brave and skilful officer, who had long and faithfully served the English as commandant of sepoys. He had been placed in command of Madura, as renter; but the unproductive condition of the country rendered it, he declared, impossible to pay the stipulated sum. The excuse is believed to have been perfectly true; but it was treated as a mere cloak to cover an incipient attempt at independence. An army marched upon Madura, and Esoof, fairly driven into resistance, commenced a desperate contest, which occasioned heavy loss of life on the side of the English, and the expenditure of a million sterling, before hostilities terminated by the seizure and betrayal of his person into the hands of Mohammed Ali, by whom he was condemned to die the death of a rebel, and actually executed as such.

His betrayer was a man named Marchand, who had joined him among a body of French troops sent to his aid by the Mahratta rajah of Tanjore, from whom a heavy sum had recently been extorted on the plea of arrears of tribute due to the general government of the Carnatic. The acquisition of the Northern Circars, in 1766, and the treaty made by Lord Clive with Nizam Ali, has been noticed, as also the impolicy of engaging to hold a body of troops in readiness to do the will of so belligerent and unscrupulous a leader. It was not long before the fulfilment of this pledge was insisted on, and the immediate consequence proved the commencement of a long and disastrous series of wars with Hyder Ali. Since his sudden

separation from the French, in 1760, his road to eminence had been short and sanguinary. Force and fraud, used indifferently, according to the nature of the obstacle to be overcome, had raised Hyder to the supreme authority in Mysoor; and a skilful admixture of the same ingredients, enabled him gradually to acquire possession of many portions of Malabar and Canara, until then exempt from Moslem usurpation. The strife at one period existing between Nizam Ali and his elder brother, Bassalut Jung, induced the latter to make an attempt at independence, in prosecution of which he marched, in 1761, against Sera,* a province seized by the Mahrattas, and separated by them from the government of the Deccan, of which it had previously formed a part. The resources of Bassalut Jung proving quite insufficient for the projected enterprise, he gladly entered into an arrangement with Hyder Ali; and, on receiving five lacs of rupees, made over his intention of conquering Sera to that chief, on whom he conferred the title of nabob, together with the designation of Khan Bahadur—"the heroic lord." Sera was speedily subdued, and its reduction was followed, in 1763, by the seizure, on a most shameless pretext, of Bednore,† a territory situated on the loftiest crest of the Ghauts, 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, abounding in magnificent forests, and fertilized by copious rains, which produce harvests of remarkable abundance. The sequestered position of this little kingdom, had hitherto preserved it from Mohammedan invasion, and enabled successive rulers to accumulate

* The districts of Great and Little Balipoor were included in the province of Sera: the former was held as a jaghire by Abbas Kooli Khan, the persecutor of Hyder in childhood. Bassalut Jung wished to exclude this territory from that over which he assumed the right of investing Hyder with authority,—(a right, says Wilks, which could only be inferred from the act of granting); but the latter declared the arrangement at an end, if any interference were attempted with the gratification of his long-smouldering revenge. Abbas Kooli Khan fled to Madras, leaving his family in the hands of his bitter foe; but Hyder showed himself in a strangely favourable light; for in remembrance of kindness bestowed on him in childhood by the mother of the fugitive, he treated the captives with lenity and honour. This conduct did not, however, embolden Abbas Kooli to quit the protection of the English, or throw himself on his mercy; and, some years later (in 1769), when Hyder presented himself at the gates of Madras, he embarked in a crazy vessel, and did not venture to land until the hostile force had reascended the mountain-passes.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, i., 410.)

† The last actual rajah of Bednore died in 1755,

leaving an adopted heir, of about seventeen years of age, under the guardianship of his widow. The youth animadverted with severity on the conduct of the ranee, with regard to a person named Nimbeia, and the result was his own assassination by a *jetti* or athlete, who watched an opportunity to dislocate his neck while employed in shampooing him in the bath. The guilty ranee selected an infant to fill the vacant throne; but, about five years after, a pretender started up, claiming to be the rightful heir, and describing himself as having escaped the intended doom by means of a humane artifice practised by the athlete. Hyder readily availed himself of the pretext for invading Bednore, though he probably never entertained the least belief of the truth of the story; and the whole army treated the adventurer with the utmost derision, styling him the "Rajah of the resurrection." So soon as Bednore was captured, Hyder, setting aside all conditions or stipulations previously entered into, sent the ranee and her paramour, with his own *protégé*, to a common prison in the hill-fort of Mudgherry, whence they were liberated on the capture of the place by the Mahrattas in 1767. The ranee died directly after her release.

much treasure. The mountain capital (eight miles in circumference) fell an easy prey to the Mysorean chief; "and the booty realised may," says Colonel Wilks, "without the risk of exaggeration, be estimated at twelve million sterling, and was, through life, habitually spoken of by Hyder as the foundation of all his subsequent greatness."* The subjugation of the country was not, however, accomplished without imminent danger to the life of the invader.†

Hyder now assumed the style of an independent sovereign, and struck coins in his own name. Having completed the necessary arrangements for the occupation of the lesser districts included in his new dominions (which comprehended two places often named in the history of early European proceedings on this coast,—Onore and Mangalore), he next seized the neighbouring territories of Soonda and Savanoor, and then rapidly extended his northern frontier almost to the banks of the Kistnah. Here, at length, his daring encroachments were

* *History of Mysoor*, i., 452. Mill says—"More likely it was not a third of the sum" (iii., 469); but native testimonies and the reports of the French mercenaries in the service of Hyder, with other circumstances, tend to confirm the opinion of Wilks. In a life of Hyder Ali, written by the French leader of his European troops, whose initials (M. M. D. L. T.) are alone given, it is stated that two heaps of gold, coined and in ingots, and of jewels, set and unset, were piled up until they surpassed the height of a man on horseback. They were then weighed with a corn measure. Hyder gave a substantial proof of the extent of his ill-gotten booty, by bestowing on every soldier in his service a gratuity equal to half a year's pay.—(*History of Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob Bahader*; translated from the French: Dublin, 1774.)

† The ministers of the late dynasty entered into an extensive conspiracy for his assassination and the recovery of the capital. Some vague suspicions induced Hyder to cause inquiry to be made by his most confidential civil servants. The persons so employed were, strangely enough, all concerned in the plot. They performed their commission with apparent zeal, and read the result to the dreaded despot as he lay on a couch shivering with ague. His keen perceptions were undimmed by bodily infirmity; but affecting to be duped by the garbled statements made by the commissioners, he detained them in consultation until he felt able to rise. Then, entering the durbar, or hall of audience, he examined and cross-examined witnesses until the mystery was quite unravelled. The commissioners were executed in his presence, many unhappy nobles of Bednore arrested, and, before the close of the day, 300 of the leading confederates were hanging at the different public ways of the city. Hyder, we are told, retired to rest with perfect equanimity, and rose on the following morning visibly benefited by the stimulating effect of his late exertions. Peace of mind had, however, fled from him; and, notwithstanding the terrible perfection which his inquisitorial and sanguinary

arrested by Mahdoo Rao, the young and energetic Mahratta peishwa, who (taking advantage of the accommodation with Nizam Ali, which had succeeded the partial destruction of Poonah by the latter in 1763) crossed the Kistnah, in 1764, with a force greatly outnumbering that of Hyder. A prolonged contest ensued, in which the advantage being greatly on the side of the Mahrattas, and the army of Hyder much reduced, he procured the retreat of the peishwa, in 1765, by various territorial concessions, in addition to the payment of thirty-two lacs of rupees. When relieved from this formidable foe, he forthwith commenced preparations for the conquest of Malabar, which he succeeded in effecting after an irregular war of some months' duration with the proud and liberty-loving Nairs, or military cast; for the disunion of the various petty principalities neutralised the effects of the valour of their subjects, and prevented any combined resistance being offered. Cananore,‡ Cochin, Karical—all fell, more or less com-

police system subsequently attained, the dagger of the assassin was an image never absent from his sleeping or waking thoughts, save when banished by the stupor of complete intoxication, which became to him a nightly necessity. One of his most intimate associates relates, that after having watched over him during a short interval of convulsive sleep, snatched in his tent during a campaign, Hyder exclaimed on awaking—"The state of a yogee (religious mendicant) is more delightful than my envied monarchy: awake, they see no conspirators; asleep, they dream of no assassins."—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, i., 143.)

‡ The Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast had been materially lessened during the interval between the last mention made of them in 1740 (p. 245), and the invasion of Hyder Ali in 1766. The expensive trading establishments maintained there proved a heavy drain on the finances of the company, which Stavorinus, on the authority of Governor Mossel, alleges to have been occasioned by the continual disputes and wars in which they had been engaged with the native princes, "and not a little by the infidelity and peculation of the servants who have been employed here." Mossel declares, "it would have been well for the Dutch company had the ocean swallowed up the coast of Malabar an hundred years ago." Under these circumstances, the best thing was to get rid of such unfortunate acquisitions. Cranganore was sold to the rajah of Travancore; and Cananore, in 1770, for the sum of 100,000 rupees, to a recently established potentate, styled by Stavorinus the Sultan of Angediva or Anchediva, a little rocky isle, two miles from the coast of North Canara. This chief belonged by birth to the mixed class, the offspring of intercourse (after the Malabar custom) between native women and Arabian immigrants: they bore the significant appellation of Moplah or *Mapilla* (the children of their mothers); but were mostly believers in the Keran. Ali Rajah, the purchaser of Cananore, had risen by trade to wealth, and thence to political importance: he took

pletely, into the power of Hyder; and Maan Veeram Raj, the Zamorin, or Tamuri rajah of Calicut, disgusted by the faithlessness of his unprincipled opponent, and terrified by the cruel and humiliating tortures inflicted on his ministers to extort money, set fire to the house in which he was confined, and perished in the flames.* Shortly after this event, Hyder was recalled to Seringapatam by the alarming intelligence that the English and Mohammed Ali had united with the Nizam in a confederacy for the reduction of his dangerous ascendancy. Hyder was a complete master of every description of intrigue. He succeeded, by dint of bribery, in withdrawing Nizam Ali from the alliance into which the English had unwisely entered, and the very corps which had accompanied the Nizam into the dominions of Hyder, sustained in its retreat an attack from their united forces.† Madras was imperilled by the unlooked-for appearance of 5,000 horse, under the nominal command of Tippoo, the eldest son of Hyder Ali, then a youth of seventeen. The president and council were at their garden-houses without the town; and had the attendance an early opportunity of propitiating the favour of Hyder, at the expense of the high-born Hindoo princes in his vicinity. When Stavorinus himself visited India, in 1775-8, the Dutch possessions on the Malabar coast nominally extended a distance of about thirty-two leagues; but, excepting the little island of Paponetty, and a few insignificant villages on the shore, the company had "no other actual property in the soil than in that upon which their fortifications are constructed."—(Stavorinus' *Voyages*, iii., chapters xiii. and xiv.)

Several of the personal attendants of the Zamorin being accidentally excluded when the doors were fastened, threw themselves into the flames, and perished with their master. This catastrophe had no effect in softening the heart of Hyder, or inducing him to show compassion to the ministers. The Nairs, rendered desperate by his cruelty, rose against him repeatedly, and were, if captured, either beheaded or hanged, until the idea struck their persecutor of preserving them to populate certain other portions of his dominions. The experiment proved fatal to the majority of the unhappy beings upon whom it was tried: of 15,000 who were subjected to this forced emigration, only 200 survived the fatigue and hardships of the way and the change of climate, which Indians in general—and particularly the natives of Malabar—can ill bear under every possible circumstance of alleviation.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, i., 477.)

† Either from generosity or policy, five English companies, attached to the Nizam as a guard of honour, were suffered by him to depart and join the force under Colonel Smith three days before the commencement of open hostilities by the new allies.

‡ Hyder prevailed on the Nizam to give the order to retreat, and was himself clearly perceived by the English issuing directions for that purpose, in the midst of a select body of infantry, whose scarlet

tion of the invaders been less absorbed in the accumulation of plunder, they might have seized as their prize the whole of these functionaries, and dictated at leisure the terms of general peace and individual ransom. But they delayed until news arrived of a decisive victory gained by Colonel Smith, at Trineomalee,‡ over Hyder and Nizam Ali, which being closely followed by other advantages on the side of the English (including the successful defence of Amboor),§ brought the campaign to an end. Hyder retreated within his own frontier, and the Nizam concluded a peace with the English in February, 1768, by which he agreed to receive seven lacs per annum for six years, as temporary tribute for the Circars, instead of the perpetual subsidy of nine lacs per annum previously promised. Hyder was himself equally solicitous of forming a treaty with the Madras presidency. He did not scruple to avow his inability to oppose at once both them and the Mahrattas; and he candidly avowed that disinclination to make common cause with the latter people, was the leading incentive to his repeated overtures for alliance with the English. His offers were, dresses, with lances eighteen feet long, of bamboo, strengthened by bands of polished silver, rendered them no less picturesque in appearance than formidable in reality. The retreat was, for the moment, delayed by a singular incident. Nizam Ali invariably carried his favourite wives in his train, even to the field of battle. On the present occasion, directions were given to the drivers of the elephants on which they were seated, to decamp forthwith,—an undignified procedure, which was firmly opposed by the fair occupant of one of the howdahs. "This elephant," she exclaimed, "has not been instructed so to turn; he follows the imperial standard:" and though the English shot fell thick around, the lady waited till the standard passed. A considerable body of cavalry, roused to action by the sense of shame inspired by this feminine display of chivalry, made a partial charge upon the enemy.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 38.)

§ The assault lasted twenty-six days, at the expiration of which time, the besieged were relieved by the approach of the British army. In honour of the steady courage there manifested, the 1st battalion of the 10th regiment bear "the rock of Amboor" on their colours. Hyder had a narrow escape during this enterprise; for while examining the fortifications, under cover of a rock which sheltered him completely from the direct fire of the fort, a cannon-shot rebounded from a neighbouring height, and cut in two his only companion, leaving him unhurt. The Mysorean court were, according to Colonel Wilks, the most unscientific in all India; and being ignorant of the simple principle by which a ball would rebound amid the rocks which limited its influence, until its force was spent, they attributed the fate of Khakee Shah to a miracle of vengeance, wrought to punish his recent offence of taking a false oath on a false Koran, to aid Hyder in deceiving and entrapping his ancient and much-injured patron, Nunjeraj.—(Wilks.)

however, haughtily rejected. Driven to desperation, he put forth all his powers, ravaged the Carnatic, penetrated to Trichinopoly, laid waste the provinces of Madura and Tinnevely, and finally, after drawing the English army, by a series of artful movements, to a considerable distance from Madras, he selected a body of 6,000 cavalry, marched 120 miles in three days, and suddenly appeared on the Mount of Saint Thomas, in the immediate vicinity of the English capital. The presidency were struck with consternation. The fort might undoubtedly have held out till the arrival of the army under Colonel Smith, but the open town with its riches, the adjacent country, and the garden-houses of the officials, would have been ravaged and destroyed; moreover, the exhausted state of the treasury afforded little encouragement to maintain hostilities with a foe whose peculiar tactics enabled him to procure abundant supplies for his troops in a hostile country, and to surround his enemies with

* Hyder, throughout his whole career, displayed a peculiarly teachable spirit in every proceeding relative to his grand object in life—the art of war. Kande Rao, a Brahmin, early instructed him in Mahratta tactics; and by their joint endeavours a system of plunder was organised, which Sevajee himself might have admired. The Beder peons (described by Colonel Wilks as “faithful thieves”) and the Pindaries (a description of horse who receive no pay, but live on the devastation of the enemy’s country), were among the most effective of Hyder’s troops. The general arrangement seems to have been, that the army, besides their direct pay, should receive one-half the booty realised; the remainder to be appropriated by their leader; and the whole proceeding was conducted by a series of checks, which rendered the embezzlement of spoil almost impossible. Moveable property of every description, obtained either from enemies or (if practicable without exciting suspicion) by simple theft from allies, was the object of these marauders;—from convoys of grain, cattle, or fire-arms, down to the clothes, turbans, and earrings of travellers or villagers, whether men, women, or children. Kande Rao at length became disgusted by the uncontrolled ambition and covetousness of Hyder. Unwilling to see the ancient Hindoo institutions of Mysoor swept off by an avowed disbeliever in all religion, he went over to the side of the unfortunate rajah, and was, as before stated, in the hour of defeat delivered up to his fierce and relentless foe, who retained him two years exposed in an iron cage in the most public thoroughfare of Bangalore; and even when death at length released the wretched captive, left his bones to whiten there in memory of his fate. (*See Wilks’ History of Mysoor*, i., 431, the French *Life of Ayder*, and Dr. Moodie’s *Transactions in India from 1756 to 1783*, for an account of this almost unexampled act of barbarity.) In his later career, Hyder declared, that the English were his chief tutors in military stratagems; and for Colonel Smith he expressed particular respect, calling him his pre-

devastation and scarcity in the heart of their own domains.* A treaty was concluded with him in April, 1769, of which the principal conditions† were a mutual restoration of conquests and a pledge of alliance, defensive but not offensive. The distinction involved in the latter proviso was, as might have been foreseen, of little avail; for the foes against whom Hyder especially desired the co-operation of the English troops, were the Mahrattas, who periodically invaded his territories; and on the expected approach of Mahdoo Rao, he urgently appealed to the presidency for the promised aid, which they withheld on the plea of complicated political relations, and thus excited, with too just cause, the vindictive passions of their ally. The military abilities of the peishwa were of no common order: and he approached with the determination of materially circumscribing the power of a rival whose proceedings and projects, after long undervaluing, he began to appreciate correctly. Seizing one by one the conquests‡ of Hyder, ceptor in the science of war, and having his picture suspended in the palace of Seringapatam.

† Other clauses provided, that the company were to be allowed to build a fort at Onore, and to have the sole right of purchasing pepper in the dominions of Hyder Ali; payment to be made to him in guns, saltpetre, lead, gunpowder, and ready money. The directors strongly reprobated the supply of offensive implements to so dangerous a potentate, and likewise the cannon afterwards sold to him, and the shipping built by his orders,—remarking, that such a procedure could not conduce to the welfare of the presidency, although it might suit the views of individuals.

‡ The battle of Chercoolee, which occurred while the Mysoreans were retreating to Seringapatam, was attended by some incidents singularly illustrative of the character of Hyder, who, though well able to be courtly on occasion, was habitually fierce in his anger and coarse in his mirth, and in either case equally unaccustomed to place any restraint on his tongue or hand. When under the influence of intoxication, his natural ferocity occasionally broke out in the most unbridled excesses; but he rarely drank deeply, except alone and at night. On the eve of this disastrous battle, the alarms of war prevented him from sleeping off the effects of his usual potation; and in a state of stupid inebriety he sent repeated messages desiring the presence of Tippoo, which owing to the darkness and confusion, were not delivered until daybreak. When Tippoo at length appeared, his father, in a paroxysm of rage, abused him in the foulest language, and snatching a large cane from the hand of an attendant, inflicted on the heir-apparent a literally severe beating. Burning with anger, and smarting with pain, the youth, when suffered to retire, hastened to the head of his division, and dashed his sword and turban on the ground, exclaiming, “My father may fight his own battle; for I swear by Allah and the Prophet, that I draw no sword to-day.” Then throwing aside his outer garment of cloth of gold, he tied a coloured handkerchief round his head, and assumed the guise of one

he marched onward until the Mysoor state shrank into narrower limits than it had occupied under the native government at the beginning of the century. The authority of the usurper tottered; and the Hindoo rajah, thinking the conjuncture of affairs favourable to the assertion of his claims, strove to open a communication with the Mahratta general; but the proceeding being detected, the unhappy prince was immediately strangled while in the bath. Still Hyder cared not, at this crisis, openly to seat himself on the ivory throne of Mysoor: double governments were in fashion throughout India, and the brother of the late rajah was proclaimed his successor. He did not long survive this perilous distinction; and Hyder, with unblushing effrontery, affected to choose from the children of the royal lineage, for the next pageant, a boy of sense and spirit—qualities which would necessarily unfit him to be the tool of the deadly foe of his family.* The retreat of the Mahrattas was secured on more favourable terms than could have been expected, by reason of the fast-failing health of the peishwa, who, in the same year (1772), died of consumption. He left no child, and his widow, who had renounced the world. After the ensuing complete victory of the Mahrattas, Tippoo was advised by his faithful friend, Seyed Mohammed (who related the adventure to Colonel Wilks), to make his way to Seringapatam as a travelling mendicant; and they contrived to reach the capital that night, to the great relief of Hyder, who believing his son lost, had refused to enter the city, and was awaiting further intelligence in a small mosque, probably unable to bring himself to encounter the burst of anger and sorrow to which his wife, the mother of Tippoo, who had great influence with him, would give vent on learning the circumstances which he knew, and the issue he feared.—(*Mysoor*, ii., 146.)

* Hyder assembled the children in the royal hall of audience, which he had previously caused to be strewn with fruits, sweetmeats, flowers, books, coin, and toys of all description: each took what struck his fancy; one boy seized a brilliant little dagger, and soon afterwards a lime with the unoccupied hand. "That is the rajah," said Hyder; "his first care is military protection; his second, to realise the produce of his dominions."—(*Idem*, ii., 163.)

† *History of the Mahrattas*, ii., 237. The actual revenue of the Mahratta state, at this period (including the jaghires of Holcar, Sindia, Janojee Bhonslay, and Dummajee Guicowar, together with tribute, fees, fines, and extra revenue of every description), amounted to about seven million sterling per ann., including Mahdoo Rao's personal estate, which seldom exceeded £50,000 per ann. He was, however, possessed of twenty-four laes of private property, which he bequeathed to the state, and which indeed was much needed. At the time of his accession, a large outstanding debt existed; and although at his death, reckoning sums due, the value of stores and other property, a nominal balance existed, yet the

to whom he had been devotedly attached, burnt herself with his body. Maharashtra is described as having greatly improved under his sway, and as being, in proportion to its fertility, probably more thriving than any other part of India, notwithstanding the inherent defects of its administrative system, and the corruption which Madhoo Rao restrained, but could not eradicate. His death, says Grant Duff, "occasioned no immediate commotion: like his own disease, it was at first scarcely perceptible; but the root which invigorated the already scathed and wide-extending tree, was cut off from the stem; and the plains of Paniput were not more fatal to the Mahratta empire, than the early death of this excellent prince."†

The above sketch illustrates, so far as the limits of this work will permit, the position of the three presidencies and of the leading neighbouring states, at the period when great and rapid changes were about to be effected in the whole scope and tenor of Anglo-Indian policy. The princes of Rajast'han were engaged in holding their own against the marauding Jats and Mahrattas, under Holcar and Sindia,‡ who, for their own ends, thought fit to interfere in a disputed succestry itself was empty. The ordinary army of the peishwa comprehended 50,000 good horse; and calculating the contingent which Guicowar and Bhonslay were bound to furnish at from ten to fifteen thousand, Holcar and Sindia's army at 30,000, and allowing 3,000 for the Puars of Dhar, his total force at command must have amounted to about 100,000 fine cavalry, exclusive of Pindarries. No wonder that Hyder Ali should have been ever solicitous to shun contact with, and form alliances against, such a force under such a leader. By official records, it appears that of 449 officers under Mahdoo Rao, ninety-three were Brahmins, eight Rajpoots, 308 Mahrattas, and forty Mohammedans.—(*Idem*, p. 270.)

‡ Holcar and Sindia both acquired valuable territorial possessions (or rather the mortgage of them) in Mewar, which, like most of the Rajpoot principalities, was about this time a prey to internal miseries,—its fields, mines, and looms all unworked, and hordes of "pilfering Mahrattas, savage Rohillas, and adventurous Franks" let loose to do their wicked will in its once fruitful valleys. Oudipoor had nearly fallen before Sindia, but was bravely and successfully defended by Umra Chund, the chief minister of Rana Ursi, who, in 1770, succeeded in compelling Sindia to accept a ransom, and raise the siege. This excellent minister fell a victim to court intrigues; but his death, says Tod, "yielded a flattering comment on his life: he left not funds sufficient to cover the funeral expenses, and is, and will probably continue, the sole instance on record in Indian history, of a minister having his obsequies defrayed by subscription among his fellow-citizens." They yet love to descant upon his virtues; and "an act of vigour and integrity is still designated *Umra-chunda*—evincing, that if virtue has few imitators in this country, she is not without ardent admirers."

cession to the throne of Amber or Jeypoor. Pretexts, more or less plausible, were put forth by other Mahratta leaders for the same course of invasion and plunder. The state of the Rohillas will be more particularly mentioned in a subsequent page. The far-distant Seiks had gradually increased in number and power, and could now furnish 80,000 men fit to bear arms. They possessed all the fertile country of the Punjab between Sirhind and Attoc.

ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS.—This celebrated governor superseded Mr. Cartier in the Bengal presidency in April, 1772. He had accompanied Mr. Vansittart to England in 1764, and was at that time in the enjoyment of a moderate independence, and a reputation for ability and disinterestedness of no common order. Presidents and counsellors, commanders military and naval—in a word, the whole body of European officials, of any rank in the service—are recorded as having received costly presents from the native princes. In this list the name of Warren Hastings is alone wanting; and as it is certain his position in the court of Meer Cossim must have afforded more than average opportunities for the accumulation of wealth in a similar manner, the exception tends to prove that the love of money formed no part of his "sultan-like and splendid character."* On the con-

trary, he was generous even to prodigality; by which means, a brief sojourn in England, surrounded by family claims, reduced his finances to a condition little above that in which they had been fifteen years before; when, through the influence of a distant relative in the E. I. direction, the impoverished scion of a noble house had been dispatched, at the age of seventeen, as a writer to Calcutta.† There, as we have seen, he had risen from the lowest grade of office to a seat at the council-board, aided by general talent and application to business, but especially by the then rare advantage of acquaintance with the Persian language—the medium through which official correspondence in India was mainly conducted. The evidence given by him during the inquiry instituted by parliament in 1766, regarding the system of government adopted by the E. I. Co., afforded a fair opportunity for the exposition of his views on a subject of which he was well calculated, both by experience and ability, to form a correct opinion; and although the hostility of the Clive party in the India House, prevented—happily for Hastings—his being suffered to accompany his former chief, Mr. Vansittart, in the projected mission to Bengal, no objection was made to his appointment to the station of second in council at Madras, whither he proceeded in 1769. Here his measures

* Bishop Heber's *Journal* (London, 1828), i., 330.

† The pedigree of the young writer can, it is affirmed, be traced back to the fierce sea-king, long the terror of both coasts of the British channel, whose subjugation called forth all the valour and perseverance of the great Alfred; and in tracing the political career of the Indian governor, one is tempted to think that not a few of the piratical propensities of Hastings the Dane, were inherited by his remote descendant. The more immediate ancestors of Warren Hastings were lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, and retained considerable wealth up to the time of the civil war in which King Charles I. lost his crown and life, and their existing representative all his possessions, except the old manor house, which being from poverty unable to retain, they sold in the following generation to a London merchant. To regain the ancient home of his family was the aspiration of Warren Hastings, while still a child of seven years old; and the hope which first dawned on his mind as he lay on the bank of the rivulet flowing through the lands of Daylesford to join the Isis, never passed away, but cheered him amid every phase of his chequered career, from the time when he learned his daily tasks on the wooden bench of the village school, or laboured at a higher description of study at the next school to which he was sent, where he was well taught, but so scantily fed, that he always attributed to that circumstance his stunted growth and emaciated appearance. From Newington Butts he was

transferred to Westminster school, where Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, and *Empey*, were fellow-students. His comrades liked and admired the even-tempered boy, who was the best of boatmen and swimmers; and so high were his scholarly acquirements, that upon the sudden death of the uncle, who had placed him at Westminster, Dr. Nicholl, then head-master, offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite pupil to Oxford. But the distant relative on whom the responsibility of the decision devolved, persisted in sending the youth to India, and he was shipped off accordingly. Some seven years after, when about four-and-twenty, he married the widow of a military officer. She soon fell a victim to the climate, leaving Hastings one child, who was sent to England for health and education. The death of this son, to whom he was fondly attached, was the first intelligence received by the bereaved father on his arrival in 1764, and it rendered him more than commonly indifferent to the management of his pecuniary affairs. On leaving India, the chief part of his savings remained vested there, the high rate of interest being probably the inducement; but great advantages of this description are usually of a precarious character, and Hastings lost both principal and interest. This calamity did not hinder him from providing liberally for an aunt, for an only and beloved sister, like himself, the offspring of an early and ill-starred marriage, and for other pensioners, although his own Indian equipment had to be purchased with borrowed money.

were especially directed to improve the investments on which the dividends of the company mainly depended, and these exertions were instrumental in procuring his promotion to the station of governor of the Bengal presidency.*

Affairs there had reached the last stage of disorganisation. Seven years had elapsed, since the acquisition of the dewanee, without the establishment of any efficient system for the government of the people, and the result was the total absence of "justice or law, or adequate protection to person or property anywhere in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, except at Calcutta; the boys of the service being sovereigns of the country, under the unmeaning title of supervisors, collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice, and rulers, heavy rulers, of the people." These youths—whom Hastings elsewhere describes as "most of them the agents of their own banyans (native managers), and they are devils"—occupied more lucrative positions than the governor himself, obtaining from one to three lacs a-year; but they were a dangerous class to meddle with, being "generally sons, cousins, or *divers* of directors."† The new governor was not the man to risk provoking a powerful opposition to his administration by their recall, but contented himself with some indirect and partial attempts to retrench their power, and pave the way for its gradual withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the measures dictated by the Court of Directors were to be carried out, and the task was one of much greater delicacy and importance than persons imperfectly acquainted with the constitution of Indian society could possibly conceive. The company were extremely dissatisfied with the amount of revenues levied by the native officials, and were well disposed to attribute

to their mismanagement and venality the ruinous condition both of their own finances and of the trade of the country. This frame of mind procured a ready reception to the charges brought before them through irregular channels, by means of the long purse and restless intrigues of Nuncomar, against Mohammed Reza Khan, who, it was alleged, had been guilty of extensive embezzlements of revenue, and likewise of an illicit monopoly of rice during the recent famine. Hastings was consequently directed to put in immediate execution the resolve of the company—"to stand forth as dewan, and to take upon themselves the entire care of the revenues;" and, likewise, to institute a public examination into the conduct of the ex-dewan. These instructions were addressed by the secret committee of the company, not to the council, but privately to the governor, and were received by him in the evening of the tenth day after his accession to office. On the following morning, orders were dispatched to Moorsshedabad for the seizure of Mohammed Reza Khan, which was effected with the utmost secrecy in the silence of midnight. The Mussulman, with characteristic composure, upon being unexpectedly made a prisoner, attempted neither resistance nor expostulation, but bent his head and submitted to the will of God. It was considered necessary by the presidency to subject to a like arrest and examination the brave Hindoo chief, Shitabroy, whose distinguished services had been rewarded by a similar appointment in Bahar to that given to Mohammed Reza Khan in Bengal, although the directors had given no order on the subject, nor was any accusation whatever on record against him. The inquiry into the conduct of these ex-officials and their subordinates was delayed for some months, on the plea of giving time for the

* Among the fellow-passengers of Hastings, during his voyage, was a German baron named Imhoff, who, in the hope of finding remunerative employment as a portrait painter, was proceeding to India, accompanied by his wife, a very beautiful and accomplished woman, a native of Archangel, and their children. The result of some months of constant intercourse between two persons of high intellectual acquirements, and feelings stronger than their principles, may be conjectured. Hastings was taken dangerously ill; the lady nursed him (according to the Rev. Mr. Gleig) "with a sister's care;" and before the vessel reached Madras, it was arranged that a divorce should be sued for in the Franconia courts by the baroness, who, during the long years which might and did elapse pending the decision of the judges, was to continue to live with the baron. This arrangement was actually carried out: the Imhoffs

followed Hastings from Madras to Calcutta; and when the marriage was at length formally dissolved, the baron returned to his native country with wealth to purchase and maintain the position of a landed proprietor, leaving the governor-general of India to marry the divorced lady, and adopt her two sons. Whether from ignorance of these facts, or a politic desire to overlook the antecedents of the union of a distinguished public servant, it appears that Queen Charlotte welcomed Mrs. Hastings with especial affability to a court remarkable for its high standard of female character. It is but justice to state, that Mr. and Mrs. Hastings remained devotedly attached to each other; and that the affectionate attentions of her son and daughter-in-law, Sir Charles and Lady Imhoff, were the solace of Hastings under the many self-sought sorrows of his old age.

† *Life of Warren Hastings*, pp. 147, 235, 269.

deposition of complaints. In the meanwhile, the *Khalsa*, or government revenue establishment, was transferred from Moorshedabad to Calcutta; the office of naib-dewan was abolished both for Bengal and Bahar; the British council formed into a board of revenue; and a native functionary or assistant dewan, under the old Hindoo title of *roy-royan*,* appointed to act in the *Khalsa*, to receive the accounts in the Bengal language, and make reports. The great obstacle to an equitable and satisfactory arrangement of the revenues, was the utter ignorance of the law-makers regarding the tenure of land; but Hastings, influenced by the necessity of a speedy decision, and considering it better "to resolve without debate, than to debate without resolving,"† cut the Gordian knot by determining to let the lands in farm for a period of five years.‡ In many instances, the hereditary Hindoo rulers of districts had sunk into the condition of tributaries, and in that character had been forcibly included by their Moslem conquerors in the large class of zemindars or middle-men, by whom the village authorities of the old system of numerous independent municipalities were gradually supplanted in Bengal. By the present regulations, when the zemindars, and other middlemen of ancient standing, offered for the lands, or rather land-rents, which they had been accustomed to manage, terms which were deemed reasonable, they were preferred; when their proposals were considered inadequate, a pension was allotted for their subsistence, and the lands put up for sale—a proceeding which, of necessity, involved the repeated commission of glaring injustice and impolicy; for many men who had nothing to lose were installed, to the expulsion of previous zemindars, who only offered what they could realise with ease to their tenants (for so these must be called, for want of a proper term to express a false position) and remuneration to themselves. To the ryots, or actual cultivators, leases or titles were given, enumerating all the claims to which they

were subject, and prohibiting, under penalties, every additional exaction. These arrangements, however fair-seeming in theory, were founded on incorrect premises, and proved alike injurious to the interests of the company and the welfare of the people.§ Regarding the administration of justice, Hastings exerted himself with praiseworthy zeal. Aware of the intention of the home government to take this portion of Indian affairs under their especial consideration, he feared, not without reason, that their deliberations might issue in an endeavour to transplant to India the complicated system of jurisprudence long the acknowledged and lamented curse of lawyer-ridden England. In the hope of mitigating, if not averting this evil, he caused digests of the Hindoo and Mohammedan codes to be prepared under his supervision, and forwarded them to Lord Mansfield and other legal functionaries, with an earnest entreaty that they might be diligently studied; and in such changes as the altered state of affairs immediately necessitated, he was careful, by following the plain principles of experience and common observation, to adapt all new enactments to the manners and understanding of the people, and the exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as possible to ancient usages and institutions.||

There was justice as well as policy in this procedure; and it is only to be regretted that it was not carried out with sufficient exactitude. All attempts to force a code of laws, however excellent, upon people unfitted by antecedent circumstances to receive the boon, have proved abortive: a heathen nation must be educated—and that often very gradually—in the principles of truth and justice brought to light by the Gospel, before they can rightly appreciate the practical character of these virtues. The thief will not cease to steal, the perjurer to forswear, or the corrupt judge abstain from bribery at mere human bidding; a stronger lever is requisite to raise the tone of society, and produce a radical change in its

* The *roy-royan* had before been the chief officer under the naib-dewan, having the immediate charge of crown lands, and the superintendence of the exchequer.—(Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 369.)

† Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 301.

‡ Under Mohammed Reza Khan's management, the system followed was the ruinous one introduced by Mohammedan nabobs, of farming out the lands annually.—(Dow's *Hindoostan*, vol. i., p. cxxxv.)

§ No European was permitted, directly or indirectly, to hold lands in any part of the country.

|| Halhed's *Digest of Hindoo Laws* was drawn up

in Sanscrit by certain pundits (Hindoo doctors of law), translated from Sanscrit to Persian, and thence to English. The Mohammedan code, such as it is, has but one legitimate source—the Koran; nevertheless, an immense mass had been written on the subject, of which a digest called *the Hedaya*, filling four large folio volumes, was framed by order of Aurungzebe; and of this work a *précis* was now executed under the supervision of Hastings. The Brahmins would accept nothing for themselves but bare subsistence during their two years' labour. Promises were made of endowments for their colleges,

whole spirit, before public virtue could flourish in a moral atmosphere so deeply vitiated as that of Bengal. After centuries of oppression and venality, the new rulers felt that their safest policy was to commence a course of gradual amelioration, rather than of abrupt changes—abolishing only punishments openly at variance with the common dictates of humanity, such as torture and mutilation. Stipendiary English magistrates were appointed to act with native colleagues; civil and criminal tribunals were established in each district, under the check of two supreme courts of appeal—the Suddur Dewannee Adawlut, and the Nizamut Suddur Adawlut. In these arrangements one great error was, however, committed, in overlooking, or wilfully setting aside, the system of *punchayets*, or Indian juries, which had, from time immemorial, been the favourite and almost unexceptionable method of deciding civil disputes.

The immediate difficulties of the presidency at this period were, how to raise funds wherewith to provide the investments, which were expected to be regularly furnished from the revenues; and to obtain relief from a bond-debt, varying from a crore* to a crore and a-half of rupees, the interest of which alone formed an item of ten lacs in the yearly disbursements. In a pecuniary point of view, the cessation of the enormous salary of nearly £100,000, paid to Mohammed Reza Khan, was an advantage. He had filled, during the preceding seven years, the double office of naib-subah (properly subahdar) and naib-dewan; that is to say, he had been entrusted with the exercise of all the higher powers of government, judicial and financial (comprehended in the nizamut), and likewise with the charge of the education and management of the household affairs of Mubarik-ad-Dowlah; the expenditure of the yearly stipend of £320,000 having been entrusted exclusively to him. Hastings now resolved on reducing the nabob's allowance by one-half—a diminution which, together with the stoppage of the sala-

but not performed.—(*Hastings*, iii., 158.)—* A crore of rupees, according to the existing standard, amounted to much above a million sterling.

† The charge of oppressing the people, and applying the most cruel coercion to delinquent renters, was certainly not disproved. Dow, who was in Bengal during the early part of the administration of Mohammed Reza Khan, declares that, on the plea of their inability to fulfil their contracts being a pretence, many of the zemindars were bound to stakes and whipped with such unrelenting barbarity, that "not a few of them expired in agonies under the

ries of Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitabroy, effected, it is asserted, a clear yearly saving of fifty-seven lacs of rupees, equivalent, at the then rate of money, to between six and seven hundred thousand pounds. The youth and inexperience of Mubarik-ad-Dowlah rendered it necessary to nominate a new superintendent for his establishment; and the selection made was so strange, that it gave rise to much subsequent criticism, as to the real motive for choosing a female, and yet setting aside the mother of the prince. Hastings thought fit to appoint to the post of *gouvernante* Munnee Begum—a person who, previous to her entrance into the seraglio of Meer Jaffier, had been a dancing-girl, but who was now possessed of great wealth; the ostensible reason for the choice being "the awe" with which she was regarded by the nabob, and the improbability of her forming any plots against the English rulers. There were, of necessity, many affairs which eastern customs forbade to be transacted by a woman; and the coadjutor chosen for her was Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuneomar, who, because he inherited neither the ability nor the guile of his father, would, Hastings alleged, prove a safe instrument of conferring favour on the latter, and inducing him to make every effort for the establishment of the guilt of Mohammed Reza Khan. The Hindoo, however, needed no incentive to stimulate his deep-rooted animosity against his Musliman rival; yet, with all his ingenuity, he failed to establish the justice of the charges of embezzlement and monopoly† brought against the ex-dewan, or to prevent his acquittal, after prolonged examination before a committee, over which the governor presided. The innocence, and more than that, the excellent conduct, of Shitabroy, and the great exertions made by him to mitigate the sufferings of the people during the famine, were clearly proved at an early stage of the inquiry. A formal apology was made for the restraint to which he had been subjected; and a *sirpah*, or costly state

lash;" and many of the ryots, reduced to despair, fled the country.—(*Hindoostan*, i., cxxxvi.) These statements derive corroboration from the reasons given by the directors for ordering the trial of the dewan. In the same communication, allusion is made to the repeated accusations brought against the agents of English officials, "not barely for monopolising grain, but for compelling the poor ryots to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest."—(*Letter to Bengal*, 1771.) See Dr. Moodie's *Transactions in India* for important information regarding the conduct of Mohammed Reza Khan during the famine.

dress, with jewels, and an elephant richly caparisoned, were presented, to adorn his triumphant return to Patna, to fill the office of roy-royan—the highest to which a native functionary could, by the recent regulations, be appointed. No small degree of humiliation was therefore blended with these marks of returning favour, which, even if unalloyed, would probably have arrived too late to repair past wrongs. Above a twelvemonth's detention in the uncongenial climate of Calcutta, aggravated by the workings of a proud spirit subjected to unmerited indignity, inflicted a mortal injury on the health of the brave chief, who died shortly after his acquittal. The appointment of roy-royan was, in testimony of his worth, transferred to his son Callian Sing, to whom the English, by the oddest assumption in the world, thought fit "to confirm the title of Maha Rajah."* But the recent changes, notwithstanding the diminution of expenditure with which they were attended, did not furnish ready money to cover the current outlay of the civil and military services of the presidency, which had risen to an enormous height; much less to meet the demands of the company at home. Hastings was deeply impressed with the exigencies of the case; and although the Court of Directors—however strongly they urged the adoption of measures to procure relief from the bond-debt by which their movements were fettered—uniformly stated, in the most forcible language, their desire for the merciful government of the people over whom they had assumed sway, and urged the adoption of an honest and straightforward policy on all occasions, yet their representative, on looking round him, and perceiving the difficulties attendant on the strict fulfilment of the various duties enjoined, thought it best, whatever else he slighted, to obey the leading injunction of getting money, comforting himself with the belief that his employers would gladly receive the fruits of his success, without caring to question the manner in which they had

been acquired. In this resolution he was, no doubt, strengthened by the exceptional instance in which, deviating from their usual tone of instruction, they suggested the policy of taking a shameful advantage of the condition of the emperor, by withholding from him the annual subsidy of about £300,000, guaranteed by them in return for the perpetual grant of the dewan-nee.† So flagrant an inconsistency was quite enough to inspire Warren Hastings with a general distrust of the sincerity and good faith of his employers, and to incite him to grasp at immediate and unjust gains, rather than frankly set forth the actual position of affairs, and trust to the common sense and humanity of the company to give him time to develop the resources of the country, invigorate its wasted trade, cheer the drooping spirits of its industrious population; and, by these legitimate means, together with reformatory measures for the reduction of the illicit gains of European officials, to restore the commerce and revenue of Bengal to a healthy and flourishing condition.

But such a course of conduct required an amount of sturdy independence—or, better far, of stanch religious principle—rarely manifested by public men of any age or country. Warren Hastings, gifted as he was in many respects, had no pretensions of this nature. A long series of years spent in the company's service, had rendered their interest a primary consideration with him. Though lavish in his expenditure, he had, as has been before shown, no avarice in his composition. "He was far too enlightened a man to look upon a great empire merely as a buccancer would look on a gal-leon."‡ The love of power and fame burned strong within him; and in taking possession of the highest appointment in the gift of the E. I. Co., he expressed his disgust at the possibility of the government of Bengal continuing "to be a mere chair for a triennial succession of indigent adventurers to sit and hatch private fortunes in;"§ and urged the advisability of being entrusted

which Macaulay speaks of him as the "head of the Brahmins of Bengal."—(*Essay on Hastings*, 36.)

† As early as Nov., 1768, the select committee, in a letter to Bengal, began to speculate on finding a plea for breaking faith with the emperor; remarking, among other contingencies—"If he flings himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, or any other power, we are disengaged from him; and it may open a fair opportunity of withholding the twenty-six lacs we now pay him."—(*Thornton's British India*, ii., 37.)

‡ Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 10.

§ Gleig's *Life of Hastings*, i., 377.

* Letter from Bengal, Nov., 1773. The ancient title of Maha Rajah (the great king), borne by the highest Indian potentates before the Christian era, was not, it appears, usurped by Hindoos in modern times until the later Mogul emperors took upon themselves to confer titles, which their own usurpations had rendered unmeaning, and which by Hindoo laws could be obtained only by inheritance. Under the English, "Maha Rajahs" became very frequent; and Nuncomar held this title, which descended to his son Goordass. I have been unable to trace the origin of this celebrated man, or to find the authority upon

with sufficient authority to carry into execution, without cheek or hindrance, the ambitious schemes which filled his mind, and to the fulfilment of which he was ready to devote his life. The constitution of the presidency was a subject of grave complaint with him; for, saving a certain prestige attached to the chair, and the single privilege of a casting vote, the governor had no superiority over any other member of the board, except the invidious description of exclusive authority, occasionally conferred by private communications, as in the case of Mohammed Reza Khan.

A change was at hand, but by no means such as Hastings desired; in the meanwhile, during the continuance of the old system, the majority of the councillors sided with him, and enabled him to pursue his own policy, despite the opposition and remonstrances offered by the minority on various occasions, especially with regard to his summary method of dealing with the emperor. The removal of this unfortunate prince from the immediate sphere of British protection, was asserted to be sufficient justification not only for the withdrawal of the yearly subsidy (to which the faith of the company had been unconditionally pledged),* but even for the repudiation of the arrears which Shah Alum had been previously assured were only temporarily kept back by reason of the pecuniary difficulties occasioned by the famine. Nor was this all: the emperor, while at the mercy of the arrogant Mahrattas, was compelled to sign *sunnuds*, or grants, making over to them Allahabad and Corah. The governor left by him in charge of these districts, knowing that the order for their relinquishment had been forcibly extorted, asked leave to place them under British protection. Hastings agreed with the Mogul officer in the impropriety of obeying a mandate issued under compulsion; but that same mandate was not the less set forth by him as conveying a formal renunciation, on the part of Shah Alum, of these districts, which were forthwith formally

* The very *sunnuds* which form the title-deeds of the company, distinctly set forth the annual payment of twenty-six lacs to the emperor. Shah Alum, as a first charge on the revenues of Bengal.

† Col. Smith attested that, in 1768, Shuja Dowlah came to him, expressed his desire to possess Allahabad and Corah, and "proffered four lacs of rupees in ready money, and to swear secrecy on the Koran, if he would aid in its accomplishment." The same officer bore witness, that the emperor sensibly felt the conduct of the vizier, and had declared, with emotion, that it seemed as if he "did

resumed in the name of the company; and as their distance from Calcutta rendered them too expensive possessions to be retained without an addition of military force quite disproportioned to the revenue derivable therefrom, they were openly sold to the man who had once before obtained them by treachery and murder, and who (p. 287), after his defeat by the English, had spared neither intrigue nor bribery for their regainment.† It was an act quite unworthy the representative of a great English association, to let the paltry sum of fifty lacs induce him to sacrifice the last remnants of dominion to which the unfortunate emperor had been taught to look as a refuge from the worst evils that could befall him, to the ambition of his faithless and ungrateful servant. Sir Robert Barker remonstrated earnestly against this procedure, which was arranged after repeated private conferences at Benares, held between Shuja Dowlah and Mr. Hastings, during nearly three weeks of close intercourse. He declared it to be a flagrant breach of the treaty of Allahabad of 1765, by which the dewannee of Bengal was granted to the company; and said that the emperor might, and probably would, if opportunity offered, bestow the *sunnuds* on a rival nation. Hastings treated the possibility with scorn; declaring, "the sword which gave us the dominion of Bengal, must be the instrument of its preservation;" if lost, he added—"the next proprietor will derive his right and possession from the same natural charter." Even had the imperial grants been worth no more than the parchment they were written on, the company would have been unjustifiable in withholding the purchase-money they had pledged themselves to give: but the truth was, the *sunnuds* had a real, though not very definite value, of which Hastings was fully aware, though he now chose to ridicule them as much as his predecessor Clive had exaggerated their importance; and for precisely the same reason—of temporary expediency.‡ It is difficult for the not wish him to have an habitation of his own on the face of the earth."—(Auber's *India*, i., 191-2.)

† In 1784, when arguing in favour of aiding, instead of oppressing the emperor, Hastings writes, that he demanded assistance from the English on the right of gratitude; asserting, "that when the French and Hyder earnestly solicited his grants of the Carnatic, and offered large sums to obtain them, he constantly and steadily refused them. We know, by undoubted evidence, that this is true." These firmans had therefore a marketable value very different to that of "waste paper."—(*Life*, iii., 192.)

English reader to appreciate the feelings which, in the minds of the Indian population, lent a peculiar degree of legality to grants unquestionably issued by the Great Mogul. The powerful and arrogant ruler of Oude ventured not on assuming the style of a sovereign: he knew the temper of neighbouring communities, and possibly of his subjects, too well to attempt this innovation; and his successor earnestly solicited, and at length with difficulty obtained from Shah Alum the title of vizier, or first subject of an empire which had little more than nominal existence, while he was himself undisputed master of an independent state as large as Ireland.

The sale of Allahabad and Corah was only one portion of the treaty of Benares. The counterpart was an arrangement for the hire of the British force to Shuja Dowlah, in the novel and degrading character of mercenary troops; and this, notwithstanding the repeated orders of the directors to refrain from all participation in aggressive warfare, and the recent (July, 1772) and unanimous declaration of the council, when called upon to assist their ally against the invasions of the Mahrattas—"that no object or consideration should tempt or compel them to pass the political line which they had laid down for their operations with the vizier, which were to be defensive only;" adding, that "not a single sepoy was to pass the frontiers of his territories."*

The people against whom Hastings agreed to co-operate, in violation alike of the orders of his employers and the resolutions of his colleagues, were the Rohilla rulers of the country lying N.W. of Oude and E. of the Ganges. The establishment of this military colony had been, as we have seen, forcibly effected during the decline of the empire, partly by the retention of lands as hereditary property, which had been originally granted on the ordinary jaghire tenure, but chiefly by the aggressions of Ali Mohammed Khan,† the adventurous leader of an ever-increasing body of Afghans, whose title was avowedly that of the sword. Successive rulers of the Oude province—themselves usurpers of equally short standing—had made various attempts to subdue Rohil-

cund, and annex it to their own dominions, but without any permanent result. The country was, at the present time, divided into numerous petty principalities, under independent chiefs or sirdars, all of whom derived their origin from the same stock, being of one tribe—that of Ali Mohammed Khan. The very nature of their power rendered their union improbable for any other purpose except temporary coalition against an invading force; but in that event—if all were true to the common cause—they could, it was estimated, bring into the field 80,000 effective horse and foot. Still it was less their number than their bravery, dexterity with the sword, and skill in the use of war-rockets, that had heretofore enabled them to hold their ground against the imperial troops, the rulers of Oude, and their worst foes—the Mahrattas. Against the latter they had fought with relentless fury on the plains of Paniput; and though, for a time, the prudence of Nujeeb-oo-Dowla had averted the threatened vengeance, the danger was delayed, not dissipated. The open hostility displayed by his son, Zabita Khan, to Shah Alum, and the evident preparations made by him for war at Seharunpoor, were followed by the invasion of his territories by the imperial troops, under a brave commander named Nujeeb Khan, in conjunction with the Mahrattas; but the latter contrived to reap all the benefit of the enterprise.

Shuja Dowlah did not view without uneasiness the prospect of the subjugation of Rohileund by the Mahrattas. To have a territory he had long coveted seized and occupied by the most dangerous people all India could furnish for neighbours, was a calamity to be averted at any hazard; and he gladly entered into an alliance with the Rohillas, in 1773, to which the English became a party, to make common cause against the invaders. The leading Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rehmet, whose territories formed the western boundary of Oude,‡ though compelled by dire necessity to consent to co-operate with the nabob-vizier, as the sole means of defence against an immediate and overpowering foe, was so distrustful of his ultimate designs, that he positively refused to take the field against the Mahrattas until

tirely on the north side of the Ganges, except Etawa and one or two straggling districts. Those of Zabita Khan commenced on the Jumna, about fourteen miles from Delhi, and were bounded by Sirhind on the west; and those of Ahmed Khan Bungush, bordered on the Corah country—Furruckabad being the capital.—(Auber's *India*, vol. i., 189.)

* Auber's *British Power in India*, i., 385.

† Ali Mohammed is said to have been the son of a Hindoo *ahcer* or shepherd, adopted in infancy by a Rohilla chief, and treated in all respects as his own child.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, iii., 20.)

‡ The possessions of Hafiz Rehmet Khan joined the western limits of Oude, and were situated en-

assured by Sir Robert Barker, on the faith of the English, that no ungenerous advantage should be taken of his absence from his own frontier by their mutual ally. This temporary and precarious confederacy of powers, strong only if heartily united, did not prevent the hostile force from crossing the Ganges and committing great ravages in Rohileund; but their withdrawal was at length purchased by a bond for forty lacs, given by Hafiz Rehmet, on behalf of himself and his fellow-chiefs, to Shuja Dowlah, who became guarantee for the gradual payment of the money to the Mahrattas. The succeeding events are very confusedly, and even contradictorily, related by different writers. The native, and apparently least inconsistent version, is given in the narrative of the son of Hafiz Rehmet, who states that the Mahratta leaders, Holcar and Sindia, subsequently negotiated with his father to join them against Shuja Dowlah, offering, as an inducement, to surrender to him the bond given on his behalf, and a share of such conquests as might be made in Oude. The Rohilla chief, whom all authorities concur in describing as of upright and honourable character, refused to listen to this proposition, and warned his ally of the intended attack, which, however, the Mahrattas were prevented by intestine strife from carrying into execution. The ever-treacherous and ungrateful vizier, relieved from this danger, immediately demanded the payment of the bond which he held simply as a guarantee against loss, for the benefit, not of the Mahrattas, but of himself and the English; and he had the art to persuade the latter people that the deed in question had actually been drawn up for the express purpose of providing for the expenses incurred in resisting the common foe. Hafiz Rehmet, however disgusted by this shameless demand, was not in a condition to offer effectual resistance, having lost many of his bravest commanders in the recent hostilities. He therefore forwarded his own share of the required sum, and entreated his fellow-chiefs to follow his example; but they refused to submit to such extortion; and after many ineffectual attempts at compromise, he reluctantly prepared for the inevitable conflict, observing, "that as he must die

some time, he could not fall in a better cause."*

Shuja Dowlah, notwithstanding the pains he had taken to win over some of the minor sirdars or governors, the indefensible character of the country, and the vast numerical superiority of his own troops, was little disposed to confront, without extraneous assistance, the small but hardy Afghan bands, who were resolved to struggle, even unto death, in defence of their hearths and homes in the fair valleys of Rohileund. There were soldiers in India whose steady disciplined valour might be depended upon when fighting as hired mercenaries against such combatants as these. A single English battalion was to native armies as the steel to the bamboo: with this addition they became all-powerful; without it, the death of a favourite leader, the outburst of a thunder-storm, a few wounded and ungovernable elephants, or a hundred other possible and probable contingencies, might change in an instant the shout of victory and the eager advance, into the yell of defeat and the headlong flight, amidst which even the commanders would lack presence of mind to issue any better orders than the very watchword of panic—chellao! chellao! (get on! get on!)† The deceitful representations made by Shuja Dowlah regarding the reason for which he had been intrusted with the Rohilla bond, was intended to give the English a plausible pretext to aid him in punishing an alleged breach of treaty. At the same time, he was too well acquainted with the wants and difficulties of the Calcutta presidency, and with the character of the governor, to feel any necessity for circumlocution in intimating his desire of seizing Rohileund, and his readiness to pay a large sum for the assistance of a British force in the accomplishment of the projected usurpation.

Neither regard for the honour of his nation, nor the dignity of his own position as the representative of a great commercial body, nor even for the private reputation which he often declared "it had been the study of his life to maintain unblemished," withheld Hastings from receiving this proposition with favour, and even encouraging it by dwelling on the advantages to be derived by the projector from its execution. The result was the insertion of a clause in

* *Life of Hafiz Rehmet*, English abridgment, published by Oriental Translation Fund, pp. 112—113. Also Sir Robert Barker's evidence in 1781. Thornton's *British Empire in India*, ii., 44.

† *Vide* Colonel Wilks' graphic narrative of the battles of Hyder Ali, especially of his defeat by the Mahrattas at Chercoolee, and flight to Seringapatam. —(*History of Mysoor*, ii., 144.)

the treaty of Benares, by which the English governor agreed to furnish troops to assist the ruler of Oude in "the reduction" or expulsion of their late allies the Rohillas, for a gratuity of forty lacs of rupees, to be paid when the "extermination" should be completed, the vizier to bear the whole charge (computed at 210,000 rupees a month) of the British force employed in the expedition.*

In the spring of 1774, the second of the three brigades into which the Bengal army was divided—viz., that of Allahabad,† joined the forces of Shuja Dowlah, and the combined troops entered the Rohilla country. The English commander was possibly already prejudiced against Hastings, on account of the determination manifested by the latter to keep the military under the complete control of the civil authority; but this circumstance was not needed to deepen the natural disgust excited by being employed in an undertaking deservedly stigmatised as "infamous." The conduct of the nabob-vizier was, from first to last, as bad as cruelty, cowardice, and rapacity could make it. The Rohillas, astounded by the approach of English troops, anxiously strove to make terms of peace; but the demand of the invader for *two crores* of rupees, evinced his uncompromising resolve to proceed to extremities. Hafiz Rehmet took post near the city of Bareilly, with an army of 40,000 men. The English commenced the attack by a cannonade of two hours and a-half, the rapidity and persistence of which defeated the frequent attempts of the enemy to charge; at length, after Hafiz Rehmet‡ and one of his sons, with several chiefs of note, had been killed whilst rallying their dispirited followers, the rest turned and fled. Shuja Dowlah had heretofore remained a

quiet spectator of the fight, surrounded by his cavalry and a large body of artillery; but the fortune of the day being decided, his troops made up for their past inactivity by pursuing, slaughtering, and pillaging the fugitives and the abandoned camp, "while the company's troops, in regular order in their ranks, most justly observed," (says their commander), "we have the honour of the day, and these banditti the profit." Then followed a fearful destruction of villages, the whole country being overspread with flames for three days after the battle. Colonel Champion vainly besought Shuja Dowlah to give orders for the cessation of these atrocities; and he also appealed to Hastings§ to plead the cause of the unhappy family of Hafiz Rehmet; but the answer was, that such interference would probably aggravate the sufferings it was designed to alleviate: and this rebuff was accompanied by an intimation that it was the business of Colonel Champion to fight and not to diplomatisise, and that it was especially incumbent on him to refrain from any line of conduct which should afford the nabob-vizier a pretext for refusing to pay the forty lacs—literally, the price of blood.

Thus sharply admonished, Colonel Champion was compelled to abide by the "great political maxim," till then utterly disregarded in Anglo-Indian policy,—"that no power which supports another as the mere second in a war, has the smallest right to assume a prominent place in the negotiations which are to conclude that war."||

Shuja Dowlah was therefore suffered to finish the affair entirely to his own satisfaction; which he did by following up the slaughter of about 2,000 Rohillas on the field of battle, with the expulsion of 18,000

* Hastings avowed himself "glad of any occasion to employ the E. I. Co's forces, which saves so much of their pay and expenses" (*Life*, i., 359); and regrets being unable to derive "some advantage from the distractions of the Mahratta state."—(i., 397.)

† The Allahabad brigade, established by Clive, drew from Fort William no less than two million sterling in five years. The sum of 30,000 rupees per month, paid according to agreement by Shuja Dowlah, during that period, was scarcely felt as a relief, for the officers in command contrived to reap the chief benefit therefrom.—(Gleig's *Life of Warren Hastings*, i., 343.)

‡ The old warrior, conspicuous from his long white beard, stately bearing, and noble charger, when all was lost, was seen to gallop forward to perish (to our shame) on English bayonets.—(Heber, i., 434.)

§ Warren Hastings remarked, that Colonel Champion had little reason to express indignation regarding the destruction of the villages; and he quoted a

letter written by this officer during the war with the vizier, in 1764, in which he declared, that according to his instructions he had been ravaging the enemy's country, and had "destroyed upwards of 1,000 villages." This barbarous system was unhappily employed, without scruple, by European commanders; and Clive especially, as a favourite measure, subsidised bands of Mahrattas for the express purpose of spreading devastation round the French settlements and encampments. Orme's work contains irrefragable testimony of the desolating hostilities of even Europeans, practised at the expense of the wretched peasantry, who beheld every art of a boasted civilisation employed in strife and bloodshed, and their fields not only ravaged by rival invaders with fire and the sword, but even the mounds reared with unwearied labour thrown down, and the waters let loose to destroy the cultivations previously irrigated with unavailing toil.

|| *Life of Hastings*, i., 439.

of their countrymen, who, with their wives and children,* were driven forth to beg, steal, or starve. The Hindoo peasantry, who formed the mass of the population, were unfavourably affected by the change. It was at first attempted to show that they had experienced a great benefit by being delivered from the "grinding tyranny" of the Rohillas; but other and more trustworthy accounts, describe the case differently, and assert that these people, unlike their race in general, encouraged agriculture, while in another point they shared the Afghan characteristic—of freedom from any passion for the accumulation of wealth. The population over whom they had usurped sway, being left in the undisturbed possession of their religion and customs, were therefore probably better situated under the immediate sway of these independent chiefs, than beneath the delegated despotism of the Mogul emperors.† Their expulsion was, however, not quite complete; for one chief, Fyzoolla Khan, continued to resist the power of the usurper, and took post with the remains of the army on the skirts of the mountains near Pattir Ghur. After some ineffectual attempts to dislodge him, the vizier found his own troops becoming so discontented from arrears of pay, that he was glad to bring hostilities to a close, by entering into an agreement with Fyzoolla Khan, who agreed to surrender half the treasure which he had contrived to carry off, on condition of receiving a grant of Rampoor and certain dependent districts in Rohileund, yielding a revenue of above £150,000 per annum.

This arrangement was, however, hurried to a conclusion more by a consideration of the failing health of the vizier, than even from the discontent of the troops. The cause of his rapid decline was ostensibly attributed to a cancerous disease; but the Mussulman historian of these times alludes to a current report—that it was the direct consequence of a wound inflicted by the hand of the daughter of Hafiz Rehmet, who, when the murderer of her father filled up the measure of his crimes by an attempt to dishonour her, stabbed him with a small dagger she had concealed for the purpose. The unhappy girl was immediately put to

death; but the wound she had inflicted, though slight, proved mortal, the dagger having been previously poisoned by her mother. Such is the story told by Gholam Hussein and his translator. The former denies, the latter affirms, its truth, and adduces certain circumstances—such as the friendship of the author for the sons of Hafiz Rehmet, his alliance with the English, and other causes, for a desire to pass slightly over so painful a matter.‡ This at least is certain,—that Shuja Dowlah, immediately after the accomplishment of his much-desired object, the possession of Rohileund, was seized by mortal sickness, while yet strong in the full energy of middle life; that he lingered through many months of intense bodily anguish, and then died, leaving his usurped dominions to a youth whose addiction to the most hateful forms of sensuality rendered him an object of general contempt.

The Rohilla war was the last transaction of importance which marked the career of Hastings as governor under the old system. Among the other measures of this epoch, was one of a quite unexceptionable character—the removal of a tax on marriage. He likewise exerted himself vigorously for the suppression of gangs of thieves and plunderers, who, under the name of *decoits*, committed terrible ravages in Bengal. Troops of *senassies*, or religious mendicants, (the pilgrim-gipsies of Hindoostan), did great mischief under the cloak of fanatical zeal. The truth was, that during the late season of anarchy, crime of all descriptions had been greatly augmented; and many who had first laid violent hands on food, at the instigation of ravening hunger, continued as a trade what they had yielded to as a momentary temptation. The measures adopted for suppressing gang-robbery were, however, of a character so flagrantly unjust, that no Christian governor could be justified in adopting, far less in initiating them. Each convicted criminal was to be executed in his native village, of which every member was to pay a fine according to his substance; and the family of the transgressor were to become slaves of the state, to be disposed of at the discretion of government. These iniquitous regulations were enacted, notwithstanding the avowed knowledge of the presidency, that the custom of selling slaves was alike repugnant to the doctrines of the Koran and the Shastras. Moreover, it was at this very time found necessary to take measures to check the kidnapping of chil-

* Stated by Colonel Champion at 100,000 souls.

† Hafiz Rehmet is said to have been "an excellent sovereign" (Heber, i., 434), and Fyzoolla Khan "a liberal landlord."—(*Report on Rohileund* 1808.)

‡ *Siyar ul Mutakherin*, iii., 268.

dren, and carrying them out of the country in Dutch and French vessels,—a practice which “had greatly increased since the establishment of the English government.”*

Hastings Governor-general.—The great change in the constitution of the Bengal presidency, decreed by the Regulating Act of 1772-’3, was unwelcome intelligence to the governor, who justly considered the actual though ill-defined supremacy vested in the Calcutta presidency, with the high-sounding but empty title given to its head, poor compensation for having his movements fettered by four coadjutors, each one scarcely less powerful than himself. The erection of a Supreme Court of judicature, to be conducted by Englishmen after the national method, he knew to be an innovation likely to produce considerable dissatisfaction in the minds of the natives; and the result proved his surmise correct: but no small part of the blame attaches to the individuals of whom it was composed, their ignorance of the customs of the people they came to judge being aggravated by a haughty indifference to the deep-rooted and undeviating adherence to ceremonial observances and the rights of sex and caste, which form so prominent a feature in the manners of the whole native population, both Hindoo and Mohammedan. Hastings, indeed, consoled himself for the dangerous character of the new legal courts, because the chief justice, Sir Elijah Impey, his old schoolfellow at Westminster, was the best man that could have been chosen for the office “in all England.”† Most authorities have formed a very different estimate of the same person; and Macaulay has not hesitated to declare, that “no other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the Tower.”‡

Towards the new councillors—General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis§—Hastings was not favourably disposed. They knew this, and came prepared to resent any semblance of disrespect. The occasion offered itself before they set foot in Calcutta: the salute

* *Revenue Consultations* of April and May, 1774; and official letters from Bengal of this date, quoted in Auber’s *British Power in India*, i., 432.

† *Life of Hastings*, i., 471.

‡ *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 50.

§ Pronounced very decidedly by Macanlay to be the author of the *Letters of Junius*.—(*Idem*, p. 30.) The strongest argument on the other side, is the steady denial of Francis himself, which he reiterated so late as 1817—that is, the year before his death, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

from Fort William consisted of seventeen, instead of twenty-one, discharges; and the expected guard of honour did not await their landing. The governor-general understood the effect of these apparent trifles on the minds of the natives of all ranks, and had calculated the degree of respect absolutely necessary to be shown to his colleagues: so, at least, they reasoned; and within six days after their arrival in October, 1774, a struggle commenced, which rendered the council-chamber of Calcutta a scene of stormy debate for the space of four years.

Mr. Barwell, the fourth member nominated by the Regulating Act, was an experienced Indian official. He had not always been on good terms with Hastings; but he now steadily, though with little effect, adhered to him against the new-comers. Hastings himself possessed a remarkable degree of self-control,|| and rarely suffered the violence of Clavering, the pertinacity of Monson—or, worse than all, the sharp tongue and ready pen of Francis—to drive him from the vantage ground of equanimity, or tempt him to lay aside the quiet tone of guarded cynicism, to which the eloquent enthusiasm of his earlier and purer life had long since given place.

The Benares treaty and the Rohilla war were the first subjects of discussion. On the plea of keeping faith with the political agent¶ placed by him at the court of Shuja Dowlah, Hastings refused to produce the correspondence; and this circumstance, combined with other manifestations of a desire to crush or evade inquiry into matters in which he was personally concerned, gave rise to many grave imputations on his character. The Rohilla war was deservedly denounced by the majority as a shameful expedient to raise money; but, unhappily, party feeling against Hastings alloyed their zeal, and ensured defeat by its own violence. In diplomacy, all three combined were no match for him, as they soon learned with bitter mortification. The clause in their instructions which directed examination to be made into past oppressions, was ample war-

|| In the council-chamber at Calcutta hangs a portrait of Hastings, bearing the legend—“*Mens æqua in arduis*,” and no better comment need be desired to accompany the semblance of the pale face, slight frame, singularly developed brow, penetrating eye, and thin, firmly-closed lips of the man of whom it has been said, “hatred itself could deny no title to glory—*except virtue*.”—(Macaulay’s *Essay on Warren Hastings*, p. 92.)

¶ The Mr. Middleton mentioned under such suspicious circumstances in the next page.

rant for the inquiries instituted by them into various complaints urged by natives of rank against the governor.* No doubt, many of these were well founded; for it is not likely that a person, so indifferent to the common rules of honesty and humanity in all matters of foreign policy, would be scrupulously just in his internal arrangements. But the most puzzling point in the quarrels of this epoch, is the repeated accusation brought against him of venality—urged with a degree of vehemence which may be illustrated by a single extract from the official records, in which the “gentlemen of the majority” (as Hastings sarcastically called them) complain, in plain terms, of the “formidable combination of reciprocal interest” which he had established, “by accepting unwarrantable advantages himself, and conniving at those which were received by the company’s servants.”† To this heavy charge is added:—“In the late proceedings of the revenue board, there is no species of peculation from which the honourable governor-general has thought it right to abstain.”‡

It has been before stated, that Hastings was not avaricious—far from it: he had neither taste nor talent for the accumulation of wealth, and appears to have habitually mismanaged his pecuniary affairs. For that very reason, the high salary attached to his office proved insufficient to cover his ill-regulated expenditure: and this circumstance may account for his having availed himself of means to recruit his own exchequer, closely resembling in character those simultaneously employed by him on behalf of the company.

Many specific accusations were urged against him. Among others, the extraordinary appointment of Munnee Begum as guardian to the nabob, was now distinctly

* Among these was the ranee of Burdwan, the relict of the late rajah, Tillook Chund, whose ancestors had governed their rightful heritage as a zemindarree during the whole period of Mohammedan rule. The ranee complained that she had been set aside from the government during the minority of her son, a boy of nine years old, to make room for a corrupt agent. Another accusation brought against Hastings was that of unduly favouring his native steward, named Cantoo Baboo (a former servant of Clive’s), who had been not only allowed to farm lands to the value of £150,000 per annum, but also to hold two government contracts, one in his own name, and the other in that of his son, a boy of ten or twelve years of age, amounting to a still higher sum.—(Dr. Moodie’s *Transactions in India*, p. 241.)

† The majority steadily refused even the customary presents or *muzzurs* (of comparatively small value,

stated to have been purchased by her in the first instance, and subsequently retained by bribery; and it was alleged in corroboration, that in the examination of her receipts and disbursements, a large sum remained unaccounted for. She was placed under restraint, and on being closely questioned as to the cause of the defalcation, she pleaded having given three lacs of rupees to the governor-general and his immediate retainer, Mr. Middleton.§ The receipt of this sum was not denied; but Hastings vindicated his own share in the transaction, by asserting that the lac-and-a-half taken by him had been used as “entertainment money,” to cover the extraordinary outlay necessitated by his visit to Moorshedabad, over and above the charge of upwards of 30,000 rupees made by him on the Calcutta treasury for travelling expenses; together with a large additional sum for his companions and attendants.

This explanation is quite insufficient as regards the exaggerated scale of expenditure adopted by the governor-general during his absence from Calcutta; far less can it justify so large a deduction from the income of the nabob, immediately after his allowance had been cut down to the lowest point. The result of the investigation was the removal of Munnee Begum from office, and her supersession by Rajah Goordass, the son of Nuncoinar, by whom the accusation of collusion between the begum and the governor had been preferred. The appointment was the act of the majority, conferred—not, of course, for the sake of Goordass, who was deemed incapable of doing much good or harm—but as a strong mark of the feelings entertained by them to his father; although, at this very time, as Hastings savagely declared, “the old gentleman was in gaol, and in a fair way to be hanged.”||

offered by the natives of rank), as a dangerous practice; and commented severely on the reasons adduced by Hastings for receiving and paying them into the company’s treasury, and by Barwell for receiving and retaining them.—(*Letter from Bengal*, October, 1774.)

‡ *Consultations of Bengal Council*, May, 1775.

§ Of the lac-and-a-half of rupees (which, by the existing standard, considerably exceeded £15,000 in value) no account was ever rendered, or defence set up, by Mr. Middleton.—(*Mill’s India*, iii., 633.)

|| The concentrated bitterness of this expression appears in a striking light when contrasted with the singular moderation of Hastings at the time of the trial of Mohammed Reza Khan, on the charges of wholesale plunder and sanguinary oppression. He then remarked on the little chance of capital punishment being inflicted, let the trial end how it would; giving as a reason—“On ne pend pas des gens qui ont un million dans leur poche.”—(*Life*, i., 264.)

The means by which the most dangerous and deadly foe ever encountered by Hastings was dashed to the ground at the very moment when his hand was uplifted to strike, are of a nature which must ever leave some degree of uncertainty as to the degree of culpability attributable to the chief actors.*

The antecedent circumstances require to be rightly understood before any clear conception can be formed on a matter which created no ordinary degree of interest in the mind of the English public, and afforded to Burke a fitting theme for some of the most thrilling passages in his eloquent speeches, in the long subsequent impeachment of Hastings. It will be remembered that Nuncomar, previous to his appointment as naib-dewan to Meer Jaffier, had been detained at Calcutta by order of the directors, on the ground of being a dangerous intriguer, whose liberty might endanger the safety of the state; and this conclusion was arrived at mainly through evidence brought forward by Hastings, who conducted the examination, and was known to entertain a very unfavourable opinion of Nuncomar. At the period of the trial of Mohammed Reza Khan, the governor-general took great credit for the manner in which, notwithstanding his private feelings, he had entered freely into all the complaints brought forward by the Brahmin ex-dewan against his Mussulman successor. He even showed Nuncomar considerable personal attention until the termination of the affair, when the accusations not being established, were pronounced malicious and libellous. Nuncomar felt that he had been used as a mere tool; and, stung to the soul by the disgrace in which his ambitious schemes had terminated, he retired into temporary obscurity, and eagerly waited an opportunity of revenge.

The dissensions which took place in the council, speedily afforded the desired opportunity; and just four months after the establishment of the new government, Nuncomar presented a memorial to the council, which contained a formal statement of bribes, to a great extent, received by the governor-general from Mohammed Reza Khan, as the price of bringing the inquiry into his conduct to a favourable termination. Francis read the paper aloud: a stormy

altercation followed. Hastings, for once, lost all temper; called his accuser the basest of mankind; indignantly denied the right of the councillors to sit in judgment on their superior; and, upon the request of Nuncomar to be heard in person being granted by the majority, he left the room, followed by Barwell. General Clavering took the vacant chair,—Nuncomar was called in, and, in addition to the previous charges, he alleged that two crore and a-half of rupees had been paid by Munnee Begum to Hastings, and that he had himself purchased his son's appointment, as her colleague in office, with another crore.

Hastings felt the ground giving way beneath his feet. The arrangement (to use the most lenient epithet) between him and Munnee Begum, regarding the "entertainment money," would, if other testimony were wanting, suffice to prove that he had not scrupled to obtain, in a more or less surreptitious manner, large sums in addition to the regular salary (£25,000 per annum), and allowances attached to his position of governor-general. The probability was a strong one, that the various and specific charges which the vindictive Brahmin was prepared to maintain at the hazard of his life, would contain at least sufficient truth to enable the adversaries of Hastings to triumph over him, by the ruin of the reputation he had, from early youth, spent laborious days and anxious nights in acquiring. To lose this was to lose all: he had no extraneous influence with the crown, the ministers, in parliament, or even with the company, sufficient to prop up his claims to the high position which credit for personal disinterestedness, still more than for great and varied talents, had obtained for him. With a mind depressed by gloomy apprehension, he prepared for the worst; and, to avoid the last disgrace of dismissal, placed in the hands of two confidential agents† in London his formal resignation, to be tendered to the directors in the event of a crisis arriving which should render this humiliating step of evident expediency. Meanwhile he met his foes with his usual undaunted mien, and carried the war into the enemy's country, by instituting proceedings in the Supreme Court against Nuncomar and two kinsmen, named Fowke, in

san, indeed, who will go to the length of declaring that the hands of the governor-general were altogether clean."—(Thornton's *British India*, ii., 71.)

† Col. Maclean and Mr. Graham.

* One of the most moderate and unprejudiced authorities on this subject truly remarks, that "opinions may, indeed, differ as to the extent of Hastings' culpability; but he must be a warm parti-

the company's service, for an alleged conspiracy to force a native, named Camul-ooden, to write a petition reflecting falsely and injuriously on himself and certain of his adherents, including his banyan Cantoo Baboo, on whom he was known to have conferred undue privileges. Clavering, Monson, and Francis, after hearing the evidence adduced at an examination before the judges, placed on record their conviction that the charge was a fabrication, and had no foundation whatever in truth. Within a few days from this time a more serious offence was alleged against Nuncomar—he was arrested on a charge of forging a bond five years before, and thrown into the common gaol. The ostensible prosecutor was a native of inconsiderable station; but Hastings was then, and is still, considered to have been the real mover in the business. The majority manifested their convictions in the most conspicuous manner: they dispatched urgent and repeated messages to the judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be held to bail; but to no purpose. The assizes commenced; a true bill was found; Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey, and after a protracted examination, involving much contradictory swearing, was pronounced guilty by a jury of Englishmen, and condemned to death.

The animus of the whole affair could not be mistaken: all classes were infected by a fever of excitement; and Clavering, it is said, swore that Nuncomar should be rescued, even at the foot of the gallows. Impey behaved throughout the trial with overbearing violence, and not only refused to grant a reprieve until the pleasure of the home authorities should be known, but even censured the counsel of Nuncomar, in open court, for his laudable attempt to prevail on the foreman of the jury to join in recommending his client to mercy.* Hastings, who might, had he chosen, have set his character in the fairest light by procuring the respite of his accuser, remained perfectly

quiescent, and thereby confirmed the general conviction that he dared not encounter the charges of Nuncomar.

The sufficiency of the evidence by which the act of forgery was established, is a question of secondary importance when compared with the palpable injustice of inflicting capital punishment for a venial offence on a person over whom the judges had but a very questionable claim to exercise any jurisdiction at all.† Forgery in India was the very easiest and commonest description of swindling—a practice which it was as needful, and quite as difficult, for men of business to be on their guard against in every-day life, as for a lounge in the streets of London to take care of the handkerchief in his great-coat pocket. The English law, which made it a capital offence, was just one of those the introduction of which into Bengal would have been most vehemently deprecated by Hastings, had he not been personally interested in its enforcement. The natives, both Mussulman and Hindoo, were astounded at the unprecedented severity of the sentence; many of them, doubtless, remembered the notorious forgery of Clive, and the fate of Omichund; and now an aged man, a Brahmin of high caste, was sentenced to a public and terrible doom for an act, a little more selfish in its immediate motive, but certainly far less dreadful in its effects. The offence which had not barred an Englishman's path to a peerage, was now to doom a Hindoo to the gallows. And yet not so; the ostensible reason deceived no one; and even the warmest partisans of Hastings could not but view Nuncomar rather as the determined opponent of the governor-general, about to pay with life the forfeit of defeat, than as a common felon, condemned to die for a petty crime. The Mussulmans were mostly disposed to view with exultation the fate of the inveterate foe of Mohammed Reza Khan; but the Hindoos waited in an agony of shame and doubt the dawn of the day which was to witness the

* Thornton's *British India*, ii., 84. Burke publicly accused Hastings of having "murdered Nuncomar, through the hands of Impey." Macanlay views the matter more leniently as regards Hastings; but deems the main point at issue quite clear to everyone, "idiots and biographers excepted," and considers any lingering doubt on the subject quite set aside by the strong language in which Impey was subsequently described by Hastings as the man "to whose support I was at one time indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour, and reputation."—(ii., 255.) But this

evidence is not unexceptionable, since it is very possible that these words referred to the important decision of the judges, at a subsequent crisis in the career of Hastings, when his resignation was declared invalid, and Clavering reluctantly compelled to relinquish his claim to the position of governor-general.

† Inasmuch as Nuncomar was not a voluntary inhabitant of Calcutta at the time when the offence was said to have been committed, but a prisoner brought and detained there by constraint, under the circumstances referred to in the preceding page.

ignominious end of a Brahmin who, by their laws, could, for the darkest crime ever pictured by the imagination of man, only be punished with loss of caste. The fatal morning of the 5th of August arrived, and Nuncomar stepped into his palanquin with the dignified serenity so often displayed by his countrymen when brought face to face with a violent death, and was borne through countless multitudes, who beheld the melancholy procession with an amazement which swallowed up every other feeling. Calmly mounting the scaffold, the old man sent a last message to the three councillors who would, he knew, have saved him if possible, commending to their care his son, Rajah Goordass. He then gave the signal to the executioner. The drop fell, and a loud and terrible cry arose from the assembled populace, which immediately dispersed—hundreds of Hindoos rushing from the polluted spot to cleanse themselves in the sacred waters of the Hooghly.

The majority in council, thus publicly defeated, sympathised deeply with the fate of this victim to political strife; and the older English officials could not but remember for how many years Nuncomar had played a part, of selfish intrigue it is true, but still an important and conspicuous part in Anglo-Indian history; for his co-operation had been gained at a time when governors and members of council, then mere commercial factors, paid assiduous homage to native functionaries.* The feelings of Hastings may be conjectured from an ex-

pression which escaped him many years later, that he had never been the personal enemy of any man but Nuncomar,† “whom from my soul I detested even when I was compelled to countenance him.” He likewise foresaw the effect the fate of his fallen foe would produce in the minds of the natives. To contest with a fortunate man, was, in their sight, especially in that of the Mohammedan population, like fighting against God himself—as futile, and, in some sort, as impious. As to the power of the majority in council, its prestige was gone for ever; although, how the right of making war and peace, levying taxes, and nominating officials, came to be vested in one set of men, and the exclusive irresponsible infliction of capital punishments in another, was a question quite beyond the comprehension of the Bengalees. The governor-general felt relieved from the danger of any more native appeals, pecuniary or otherwise;‡ and whilst the air was yet filled with weeping and lamentation, he sat down to write a long and critical letter to Dr. Johnson about the *Tour to the Hebrides*, Jones’ *Persian Grammar*, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India. From this time he renounced all idea of resigning his position, and repeatedly declared, in both official and private communications, that nothing short of death or recall should hinder him from seeing the result of the struggle with his colleagues. That result may be told in his own words—“his adversaries sickened, died, and fled,”§ leaving him

various times. Meer Cossim himself died poor and in obscurity.

† *Life*, iii., 338. This speech needs qualification; for Hastings, on his own showing, entertained for Francis, Clavering, and many minor functionaries, a feeling for which it would be difficult to find any other name than personal enmity. One gentleman, appointed by the majority to supersede a favourite nominee of his own as resident at Oude, he speaks of as “that wretch Bristowe;” and entreats his old friend Mr. Sullivan (the ancient opponent of Clive, and the chairman of the Court of Directors) to help rid him “from so unworthy an antagonist,” declaring that he would not employ him, though his life itself should be the forfeit of refusal.—(ii., 336.)

‡ Francis, when examined before parliament in 1788, declared, that the effect of the execution of Nuncomar, defeated the inquiries entered into regarding the conduct of Hastings; “that it impressed a general terror on the natives with respect to preferring accusations against men in great power;” and that he and his coadjutors were unwilling to expose them to what appeared to him and his fellow-councillors, as well as to the Bengalees, a manifest danger.—(Mill, iii., 641.)

§ *Life of Hastings*, iii., 305.

* Nuncomar was governor of Hooghly in 1756. He was induced by the English to take part with them against his master, Surajah Dowlah, whose orders of affording aid to the French when besieged in Chandernagore he disobeyed, to serve his secret allies, to whom on several occasions he rendered considerable service, and in so doing incurred the suspicions of the nabob, and was dismissed from office. His subsequent career has been shown in previous pages; its termination adds another name to the list of remarkable deaths which awaited the chief actors in the conspiracy that was carried into execution on the field of Plassy. At the division of spoil which took place in the house of the Seit brothers, nine persons were present. Of these, three (the Seits and Roy-dullub) were murdered by Meer Cossim Ali; the fourth (Clive) died by his own hand; the fifth (Meeran) perished by lightning; the sixth (Serafton) was lost at sea; the seventh (Omichund) died an idiot; the eighth (Meer Jaffier) went to his grave groaning under every suffering which pecuniary difficulties, domestic sorrows, and bodily diseases, resulting from debauchery, could inflict. Of the death of Mr. Watts I have seen no record. Gassitce Begum, and several confederates not present on the occasion above referred to, were put to death at

the undisputed master of the field. The first to fail was Colonel Monson, who, after two months' sickness, fell a victim to the depressing influence of climate, and the wear and tear of faction. The casting vote of Hastings, joined to the undeviating support of Barwell, restored his complete ascendancy in council, which he exercised by reversing all the measures of his adversaries, displacing their nominees to make way for officials of his own appointment, and by reverting to his previous plans of conquest and dominion, of which the leading principle was the formation of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, especially of Oude and Berar, — a policy which, in skilful hands would, he foresaw, act as a powerful lever wherewith to raise England to a position of paramount authority in India. But once again his ambitious career was destined to receive a severe though temporary check. The accounts sent home by the Clavering party, furnished both the government and the directors of the E. I. Cy. with strong arguments for his immediate recall. With the proprietors he had been, and always continued to be, a special favourite, and they vehemently opposed the measure. Still there seemed so little chance of his continuance in office, save for a limited time, and on the most precarious and unsatisfactory tenure, that his agents and friends, after much discussion, thought themselves warranted in endeavouring to effect a compromise, by tendering his voluntary resignation in return for a private guarantee on the part of government for certain honours and advantages not clearly stated. The resignation was proffered and accepted, but it appears that the conditions annexed to it were not fulfilled; for the negotiators sent Hastings word, by the same ship that brought an order for the occupation of the chair by General Clavering (pending the arrival of the newly-appointed governor-general, Mr. Wheeler), that they hoped he would not abide by the pledge given on his behalf, since the stipulations made at the same time had been already flagrantly violated.*

On receipt of this varied intelligence, Hastings was, or affected to be, at a loss

how to act; but the violence of General Clavering in attempting the forcible assumption of the reins of government, afforded him an inducement or a pretext to repudiate the proceedings of his representatives in London, and declare that his instructions had been mistaken; that he had not, and would not resign. Clavering insisted that the resignation which had been tendered and accepted in England, could not be revoked in India: he therefore proceeded, with the support of Francis, to take the oaths of office, issue proclamations as governor-general, hold a council, and formally demand the surrender of the keys of the fort and the treasury. But Hastings had the advantage of that possession which an old adage pronounces to be "nine-tenths of the law:" he warned the officers of the garrison at Fort William, and of all the neighbouring stations, to obey no orders but his at their peril, and altogether assumed so daring an attitude, that his adversaries shrank from the alternative of civil war, and consented to abide by the decision of the judges. The notorious partiality of the chief justice left little doubt of the issue; but apart from any such bias, the decree was sufficiently well-grounded. The right of Clavering rested on the resignation of Hastings, and Hastings would not resign. In such a case the most reasonable course was to let things remain as they were, pending the decision of the home authorities. The defeated party, and especially Francis, behaved with unexpected moderation; but the victor, not contented with his triumph, strove to prevent Clavering from reassuming his place in the council, on the ground that it had been formally vacated, and could not be reoccupied except with the combined sanction of the ministers and directors. This absurd proposition Hastings maintained with all the special pleading of which he was an unrivalled master; but the judges could not, for very shame, support him, and Clavering was suffered to resume his former position. These proceedings occurred in June, 1777. They had a most injurious effect on the health of the high-principled but hasty-tempered general; so much so, that Hastings'

* See Letters of Maclean and Stewart.—(*Life*, ii., 95.) The "gross breach" of agreement so loudly complained of, was the investment of General Clavering with the order of the Bath. This same "red ribbon" created as much spleen and envy among the English functionaries, as the privilege of carrying a fish on their banners did among the ancient Mogul nobility; and a strange evidence of the consequence,

attributed to the intriguing nabob of Arcot at the English court, was afforded by the knightly insignia being sent to him, with authority to invest therewith General Coote, and the royal ambassador, Sir John Lindsay.—(*Auber's India*, i., 306.) The greatest wonder is, that the honest and plain-spoken general did not flatly refuse to receive the honour by the hand of one he so thoroughly despised.

prophecy that he would soon die of vexation, was realised in the following August.* Mr. Wheeler, on his arrival in November, was compelled to content himself with the rank of a councillor, instead of the high office he had expected to fill. National difficulties fast following one another, engaged the whole attention of English politicians; and war with America, conjoined to the hostility of France, Spain, and Holland, with the armed neutrality of the Baltic, and growing discontent in Ireland, left the ministry† little inclination to begin reforms in India, which must commence with the removal of a man whose experience, energy, and self-reliance might be depended upon in the most perilous emergency for the defence of British interests in India; although, in less critical times, his aggressive policy necessitated an amount of counter-action quite inconsistent with the unchecked authority he so ardently desired to obtain, and which, for many reasons, it seemed advisable to vest in the governor-general. These considerations procured for Hastings a temporary confirmation in office after the expiration of the term originally fixed by the Regulating Act. In 1779, a new parliamentary decree announced that the £1,400,000 borrowed of the public, having been repaid by the company, and their bond-debt reduced to £1,500,000, they were authorised to declare a dividend of eight per cent. The raising of the dividend seems to have been an ill-omened measure; for once again it was followed by an increase of pecuniary distress, which not even the inventive brain and strong arm of the governor-general could find means to dissipate, although the departure of Francis freed him from the restraining presence of a severe and prejudiced, though public-spirited censor. Before their final separation, a partial and temporary reconciliation took place, effected under peculiar circumstances, through the mediation of Mr. Barwell, who, having amassed an ample fortune, returned to enjoy it in England in 1780. Unanimity in the council was indeed of the first necessity to meet a great and instant danger—namely, the alarming excitement occasioned among the native population by the perse-

vering attempts of the Supreme Court to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the company's territory, and to exert a controlling power even over the council itself. Macaulay has drawn a picture of this period in language too vivid and graphic to be condensed, and which has a peculiar value as proceeding from the pen of one who himself filled the position of councillor in the Bengal presidency, in an expressly legal capacity. In enumerating the evils attending the new tribunal, he states that it had "collected round itself,"—

"A banditti of bailiffs' followers compared with whom the retainers of the worst English spunging-houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives highly considered among their countrymen were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common gaol, not for any crime even suspected, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harems of noble Mohammedans, sanctuaries respected in the east by governments which respected nothing else, were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver, and less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if the faint-hearted Bengalee, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah—who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of a Supreme Court." * * * "The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court, have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days."—(*Essay*, p. 49.)

The power of the Supreme Court continued to increase, until it seemed as if every other function of government would be swept away in the vortex created by its ever-growing circles. Not satisfied with treating with the utmost contempt the magistrates and judges of the highest respectability in the country, the "black agents," as the chief justice at length brought him in triumph to pay homage to the bride. The fatigue and excitement, perhaps, accelerated a crisis, for the general died a few days later.—(*Siyar ul Mutakherin*, ii., 477.)

† The dissolution of the Rockingham ministry, by the sudden death of its chief, in 1782, was one of the circumstances which prevented Hastings' recall.

* It was about this period that the news of the much-desired divorce arrived, which enabled the Baroness Imhoff to become Mrs. Hastings. The Mussulman chronicler, in relating the splendid festivities with which the marriage was celebrated, asserts that the governor-general, vexed at the absence of Clavering, went himself to his house, and

temptuously termed them,* he at length fairly ventured upon a distinct assumption of dominant authority in Bengal, by summoning the governor-general and council individually to defend themselves against a suit for trespass committed by them in their official capacity. Hastings could bear much from his "respectable friend, Sir Elijah Impey;" but there were limits even to his tolerance; and Francis, who had long vehemently remonstrated against the tyranny of the Supreme Court, willingly shared the responsibility of releasing various persons wrongfully imprisoned by the judges, and of preparing to resist the outrageous proceedings of the sheriff's officers, if necessary, by the sword. But before matters had proceeded to the last extremity, a compromise was effected between the governor-general and chief justice, by means of an offer which the former had clearly no right to make, and the latter no shadow of excuse for accepting. It will be remembered, that before the Regulating Act came into operation in India, a court of appeal had been projected, under the title of *Sudder Dewannee Adawlut*, to consist of the governor-general and council in person; but this arrangement had not been carried out, because the intended members feared to find their decisions set aside by the overweening authority assumed by the "king's judges," as the officers of the Supreme Court delighted to style themselves, in contradistinction to the company's servants. It was precisely this independence (in itself so just and necessary, though misused in unworthy and indiscreet hands) that Hastings desired to destroy; and he did so, for the time at least, most effectually, by offering Impey, in addition to the office already held by him, that of chief justice of the *Sudder Dewannee Adawlut*, with a salary and fixed emoluments amounting to nearly £8,000 a-year, to be held during the pleasure of the governor-general and council. Francis and Wheeler united in opposing this arrangement, and stated, in plain terms, that the idea of establishing peace upon the ground of adverse claims still unrelaxed, and which nothing even appeared to reconcile but the lucrative office given to the chief justice, could be maintained only upon suppositions highly dishonourable to the public justice

and to the executive administration of Bengal. This view of the case was perfectly just. Even as far as the rival functionaries (executive and judicial) were concerned, it could produce only a temporary pacification, while its worst effect was—as a parliamentary committee afterwards affirmed—that it gave the governor-general an ascendancy by which he was "enabled to do things, under the name and appearance of a legal court, which he would not presume to do in his own person."† The measure was carried by Hastings and Coote,‡ in defiance of Francis and Wheeler; and the chief justice entered on his double functions, and the receipt of his double salary, with much alacrity, but considerably diminished arrogance, and continued to give undeviating allegiance to his patron, until news arrived of an act of parliament, passed in 1782, for the limitation of the powers of the Supreme Court of judicature; accompanied by the recall of Impey, to answer before the House of Commons the charge of having "accepted an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act 13 Geo. III."

The ascendancy of Hastings afforded some relief to the natives against wanton outrage, and the subsequent restraint laid on Anglo-Indian jurisdiction, contributed to their further relief. But the terrible prestige given by the unwarrantable proceedings of these times could not easily pass away. Moreover, even when its first terrors had been set aside, the labyrinth of innumerable and inexplicable forms, aggravated by the difficulties of a foreign language, in which a native found himself surrounded when brought within the mysterious circle of an English court of law, was calculated to deepen rather than remove the prejudices of persons who might be impelled by suffering to seek relief from present injury or redress for past wrongs, by a course of litigation which experience could scarcely fail to prove so tardy and expensive in its progress, as frequently to neutralise the benefit of an upright and unprejudiced decision. I can speak from personal experience of the fear entertained, by both Mussulmans and Hindoos, of being by any hook or handle involved in the harassing intricacies of a lawsuit; and even to the present day, many natives from the interior habitually fix their abodes on the safe side of the Mahratta ditch—the boundary of chancery and other civil branches of the Supreme Court.

The uncompromising opposition of Francis

* Letter of Impey to Lord Weymouth.—(Mill.)

† Report of Committee, 1781.

‡ Sir E. Coote, who had taken the place of Barwell, seconded Hastings, though with doubt and hesitation.

to the scheme of Hastings, together with differences on points of foreign policy, terminated in the renewal, and even increase, of former ill-feeling. The governor-general recorded, in an official minute, his disbelief in the "promises of candour" made by his opponent, and declared his public, like his private conduct, "void of truth and honour." Francis, whose health and spirits had been for some time visibly failing, and who, in the words of his opponent, had lost all self-control, and needed to be dealt with like "a passionate woman,"* could ill bear this unmerited taunt. After the council had risen, he placed a challenge in the hands of Hastings. It had been expected, and was immediately accepted. The example had been previously given by General Clavering (the commander-in-chief) and Mr. Barwell; and now the governor-general of India and the senior councillor, with remarkable disregard for the interests of their employers at a very critical period (not to speak of higher principles, which were quite out of the question), proceeded to edify an assemblage of women and children, by fighting a duel, as the Mussulman chronicler has it, "according to the established custom of the nation."† At the first exchange of shots, Francis fell, severely but not mortally wounded. He recovered slowly, and resumed his seat at the council board; until, wearied with the unequal contest, he threw up his position and returned to England at the close of 1782, leaving to Hastings the undisputed supremacy. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition. After the departure of his unbending colleague, he sided almost invariably with the governor-general, who spared no efforts to conciliate him by every possible means, especially by "providing handsomely for all his friends."‡ Yet, however great the triumph of Hastings, and undisguised his delight at the successful termination of a six years' conflict, abundant cause for anxiety remained, on every side, to lower the exulting tone he might have otherwise assumed. The ministers of the

crown and the directors of the company suffered his retention of the highest office in India simply as a measure of temporary expediency; and even his staunch friends, the proprietors, failed not to give occasional and qualified censure to the unscrupulous deeds of the man on whose abilities and experience they relied for the fulfilment of those financial expectations which he had made it his great object to realise. But the very uncertainty of his position tended to encourage his innate propensity for temporising measures, and induced him to purchase golden opinions from his fellow-officials by conniving at innumerable illicit proceedings, for the interest of individuals, to the manifest injury of the revenues of the company and the prosperity of the provinces. Reforms are generally most unpopular where most needed; and Hastings, after forming plans for a large reduction of expenditure, set them aside until, as he remarked, he should be more certain of his own fate; "for I will not," he adds, "create enemies in order to ease the burdens of my successors."§ This very natural feeling, though somewhat inconsistent with the excessive zeal expressed by the writer for the pecuniary interests of the company, is quite in accordance with the unscrupulous manner in which he dealt with native princes—treating their rights and claims as valid or invalid, as substantial or mere empty-seeming, just as it suited his immediate object.|| Such habitual double-dealing, however convenient the weapons it might afford for an immediate emergency, could not fail to render his publicly-recorded opinions a tissue of the most flagrant contradictions; and it tended materially to produce the evils which he endeavoured to prove had resulted solely from the opposition made to his measures by the ex-majority. Those evils are thus enumerated by his own pen:—"An exhausted treasury; an accumulating debt; a system charged with expensive establishments, and precluded, by the multitude of dependents and the curse of patron-

* *Life of Hastings*, ii., 384.

† *Siyar ul Mutaakherin*, ii., 518.

‡ Wheler's support was not, however, quite undeviating; and his despotic chief complained of his attachment to "the lees of Mr. Francis, and his practice of a strange policy of hearing whatever any man has to say, and especially against public measures."—(*Life of Hastings*, ii., 384.)

§ *Ibid.*, iii., 31.

|| He himself acknowledged how little he allowed an "expression dictated by the impulse of present

emergency," to impose upon him "the obligation of a fixed principle." And one of his ablest and not least partial advocates, in the present day, admits that his determination to hold "his post and his purposes" in defiance of the directors, led him "to devise arguments and assign motives intended to meet the exigency of the moment, and, therefore, sometimes as much at variance with themselves as were the arguments of those by whom he was so vehemently and invariably opposed."—(Professor Wilson's Note on Mill's *India*, iv., 30.)

age, from reformation; a government debilitated by the various habits of inveterate licentiousness; a country oppressed by private rapacity, and deprived of its vital resources by the enormous quantities of current specie annually exported in the remittance of private fortunes, in supplies sent to China, Fort St. George, to Bombay, and lately to the army at Surat, and by an impoverished commerce; the support of Bombay, with all its new conquests; the charge of preserving Fort St. George, and recovering the Carnatic from the hands of a victorious enemy; the entire maintenance of both presidencies; and lastly, a war, either actual or depending, in every quarter and with every power of Hindostan.”*

Before proceeding to describe the manner in which Hastings, now alone at the helm, steered his way through this troubled sea of dangers and difficulties, and likewise through personal trials of his own seeking, it is necessary to narrate, as briefly as possible, the leading events which, since his promotion to the station of governor-general in 1772, had taken place in the minor or sister presidencies of Bombay and Madras.

BOMBAY, 1772 to 1780.—The possession of the little island of Salsette and the fort of Bassein had long been earnestly coveted by the E. I. Co., and in 1768, they strongly urged on their Indian representatives the additional security to Bombay to be derived from the annexation of these places; which, however, they desired to see effected “rather by purchase than war.” Under the strong government of Madhoo Rao, the latter experiment would have been sufficiently hazardous; and the result of negotiations opened in 1772, clearly proved the small chance that existed of a voluntary surrender of territories no less valued by the one party than desired by the other. The death of the Mahratta peishwa produced dissensions in the state which, by destroying unity of interest even in Poona itself, offered to the English a prospect of obtaining, in the character of mediators or partisans, the concessions vainly sought for by more legitimate means. Madhoo Rao, always patriotic and unselfish, had diligently striven to avert the calamities by which his early death was likely to be attended. Perceiving his end approaching, he caused his uncle Ragoba to be released from confinement, and in the most affecting and im-

pressive manner entreated him to guard and guide the person and counsels of his brother and successor Narrain Rao, a youth of seventeen. Ragoba appeared kindly disposed to the nephew thus committed to his charge, and the new peishwa was formally invested by the pageant-rajah with the insignia of office. But before long, dissensions arose between the chief ministers of Narrain (Sukaram Bappoo, Nana Funnvees, and others, appointed by Madhoo Rao) and Ragoba, the result of which was his confinement to certain apartments in the palace. While smarting under the check thus given to his ill-regulated ambition, Ragoba, stimulated by the evil counsels of his tale-bearing wife, Anundee Bye, was induced to gratify the jealous hatred entertained by her against Gopika Bye, the mother of Madhoo and Narrain, by giving a written sanction for the seizure of the young peishwa, which she wickedly converted into an order for his assassination, by changing the word *dhu-rauc* (to seize) into *marawè* (to kill.) A domestic, who had been publicly flogged by order of the destined victim, was a chief mover in the plot, which was carried out by working on the discontent of a body of unpaid infantry. They had been extremely turbulent during the afternoon of the 30th of August, 1773, and in the night the ringleader, Somer Sing, entered the palace by an unfinished doorway newly opened to make an entrance distinct from that of the portion inhabited by Ragoba. Narrain Rao, on starting from sleep, fled, pursued by Somer Sing, to his uncle's apartments, and flung himself into his arms for protection. Ragoba interfered, but Somer Sing exclaimed—“I have not gone so far to ensure my own destruction; let him go, or you shall die with him.” Ragoba was too deeply compromised to give way to remorse: he disengaged himself from the grasp of his nephew, and got out on the terrace. Narrain Rao strove to follow him, but was seized by the leg and flung to the ground by the vengeful servant before named. At this moment one of the personal attendants of the peishwa entered, unarmed, and flew to his rescue; but his fidelity cost him his life, for both master and servant were dispatched by the swords of the assassins.† The unfortunate Narrain Rao appears to have manifested a degree of indecision and timidity, on this trying occasion, remarkable in one of his caste and nation; but these failings were probably not radical defects, but rather incidental

* *Life of Hastings*, ii., 329.

† Grant Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 249.

to an unformed character.* A searching investigation was instituted into the affair by Ram Shastree, the celebrated judge, whose integrity and ability had reflected so much honour on the administration of his beloved disciple Madhoo Rao. To him Ragoba confessed his partial participation in the crime, and asked what atonement he could make. "The sacrifice of your own life," replied the uncompromising judge; "for neither you nor your government can prosper; and, for my own part, I will neither accept of employment, nor enter Poona whilst you preside there."† He kept his word, and retired to a sequestered village, from whence he witnessed the fulfilment of his prediction; for Ragoba's "ill-luck" became proverbial, and communicated itself, in a greater or less degree, to every enterprise in which he was concerned. At the onset, the total absence of a rival claimant enabled him to obtain, without difficulty, the confirmation of the rajah of Sattara to his assumption of the rank of peishwa; but his title was subsequently rendered invalid by the posthumous birth of a son, the rightful heir to Narrain Rao. Considerable doubt was thrown upon the legitimacy of the child by the means adopted by the ministers (Nana Furnavecs, Sukaram Bappoo, and others), to provide a male substitute, in the event of their influence being endangered by the birth of a girl; but, as the case happened, the manœuvre only served to endanger their own cause, and afford Ragoba a pretext for resisting the claims of the son of his murdered nephew, who was

proclaimed peishwa when only forty days old. The English authorities appear to have been quite misled by the representations which accompanied his appeal for their assistance; and even when compelled to recognise the utter futility of attempting to establish his supremacy in defiance of the general feeling of the Mahratta nation, they seem never to have rightly understood the nature of his claims, or the basis on which they rested. The cession of Bassein and Salsette, with the payment of a large sum of money, formed the leading stipulations on the part of the Bombay authorities; but as Ragoba was very unwilling to consent to any sacrifice of territory, they took advantage of the plea afforded by an inclination manifested by the Portuguese to regain their ancient possessions, to forcibly occupy them with British troops, protesting, nevertheless, that they held them only on behalf of Ragoba, until he should himself settle the arrangements of the pending treaty. The part taken by Sindia and Holcar, in siding with the ministers, left him no choice but to comply with the demands of the English; and, in return for his concessions,‡ 2,500 men were landed at Cambay, under Colonel Keating, in the early part of the year 1775, to aid his own mob-like assemblage of about 20,000 men. The campaign was successful, though attended with considerable loss of life;§ but preparations for the renewal of hostilities, at the close of the monsoon, were suddenly arrested by the interference of the Bengal presidency. The Bombay authorities were sharply reprimanded for disregarding the recent regu-

* Madhoo Rao, whose generous nature rose superior to the unworthy considerations which induced the Mogul emperors to treat their near relatives as dangerous rivals, and confine them from infancy to state prisons, delighted in cherishing and drawing public attention to the good qualities of his intended successor. The Mahrattas relate, that the brothers were witnessing an elephant-fight from a small hill in the environs of Poona, when one of the animals becoming excited, rushed furiously towards the spot where they were seated. The companions and attendants of the peishwa, forgetting all courtly etiquette, took to their heels, and Narrain jumped up to run off with the rest. "Brother," said Madhoo Rao, "what will the ukbars [*native newspapers*] say of you?" The boy instantly resumed his seat, and retained it until the danger, which became imminent, had been averted by the bravery of a bystander, who, drawing his dagger, sprang in front of the peishwa and turned the animal aside by wounding it in the trunk.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 251.)

† *History of Mahrattas*, ii., 249. An interesting feature in the intercourse of Madhoo Rao and Ram Shastree, is related by Duff. The peishwa devoted himself, at one period, to the practice of "Jhep" or

religious meditation, to a degree which interfered with his public duties. Ram Shastree told him, that if he were inclined to revert to the condition of devout and austere poverty, which by the Hindoo doctrine was the especial duty of a Brahmin, he would gladly do the same; but if, on the contrary, Madhoo intended to follow the example of his predecessors, and retain the position of an earthly potentate, the duties incumbent on the assumed office ought to be his first consideration. "The musnud, or a life of self-denial in the holy city of Benares,—which you will," said the honest Mentor; "I will abide with you in either station." Happily for Maharashtra, Madhoo Rao remained its ruler, and Ram Shastree its leading judge,—an unimpeachable one, for he had no thirst for power, and all his habits were consistent with his characteristic rule—to keep nothing more in his house than sufficed for the day's consumption.

‡ Ragoba, or Rugonath Rao, having no other funds, deposited with the company, jewels valued at upwards of six lacs. These gems were, about twenty-eight years later, freely presented to Bajee Rao on his restoration to the office of peishwa, in 1813.

§ In the small detachment of Colonel Keating, 222 persons perished, including eleven officers.

lations, which placed the control in matters of foreign policy in the hands of the governor-general and the supreme council; and, besides being blamed for insubordination, they were informed that an envoy (Colonel Upton) would be sent direct from Bengal to conclude a treaty of peace. This latter proceeding could not fail to irritate the Bombay officials, and to lower their authority, and, indeed, that of the English in general, in the eyes of the Mahratta ministers, than whom no men living were better able to appreciate the weakness arising from divided counsels. The consequence was, that after a negotiation conducted, on the part of the Mahrattas, with more than characteristic procrastination, Nana Furnavees and the ministers of the infant peishwa, concluded a treaty at Poorunder, by which Colonel Upton promised that the English should relinquish the cause of Ragoba, and guarantee the disbandment of his army on certain stipulations quite contrary to the views of that individual. Of Salsette Island they were to retain possession, but to relinquish certain cessions in Guzerat, made by the Mahratta chief Futeh Sing Guicowar. No sooner had this humiliating agreement been entered into than the home despatches arrived, highly applauding the conduct of the Bombay authorities, and bidding them, in any and every case, retain all their late acquisitions, especially Bassein, if it were included in the number; which was not the case. The mandate came late, but its effects were soon manifested in a partial breach of faith, by continued though guarded favour shown to Ragoba, and a decided inclination to break with the Poona ministry. Nana Furnavees, a politician of much ability and more cunning, strove to prevent the renewal of hostilities, by affecting to encourage the pretensions of a French adventurer, named St. Lubin, who, after imposing upon the Madras government in the character of an agent of the court of Versailles, had returned to France, and by exaggerated representations of the influence acquired by him at Poona, had induced the minister of marine to intrust him with a sort of clandestine commission, as an experiment for ascertaining if any footing might be gained (the port of Choul being especially desired.)

No one had less inclination to suffer the introduction of French power into Maharashtra than Nana Furnavees; and by the little favour shown to the avowed agent of another European state (Austria), then at

Poona, it seems that he considered St. Lubin as a mere impostor, and encouraged him simply as a means of alarming the English government by an affected alliance with France. These proceedings served, on the contrary, to incite immediate operations before the anticipated arrival of French auxiliaries at Poona. Even Hastings was dissatisfied with the treaty of Poorunder; and notwithstanding the censure bestowed on the previous "unwarrantable" interference of the local authorities, they were now directed "to assist in tranquillising the dissensions of the Mahratta state." Ostensibly for the promotion of this object, Colonel Leslie was dispatched, with a strong detachment, to march across the centre of India, from Bengal to the western coast. The Bombay presidency, delighted with this indirect admission of the advisability of their former measures, determined not to wait the arrival of reinforcements, but to make war at once, upon the strength of their own resources; and Mr. Carnac, who had the lead in council, was himself placed at the head of a committee, to aid in the direction of military operations. In fact, despite the oddity of making war under the superintendence of civilians, the infirm health and inexperience in Indian warfare of Colonel Egerton, the officer on whom the command devolved by right of seniority, rendered such a step of absolute necessity to the carrying out, with any prospect of success, the wild plan of advancing with a force (including a few straggling horse under Ragoba) of less than 4,500 men, to attack the ministerial party in their own capital. So bold a design imperatively needed rapidity in execution; yet, after crossing the Ghaut (mountain-pass), the army, without any reason for such ill-timed tardiness, advanced only eight miles in eleven days. The enemy had fully prepared for their reception; and the deliberate progress of the English was but slightly opposed, until, at about sixteen miles from Poona, they found themselves face to face with the Mahratta host. Mr. Carnac and Colonel Cockburn (who had taken the lead, in consequence of the sickness of Colonel Egerton) seem to have been panic-struck by the imminent danger which they had wantonly incurred, and they immediately issued orders for a silent midnight retreat. In vain the junior officers and Ragoba, whose military experience was treated with undeserved contempt, urged that, from the

well-known tactics of the enemy, such an attempt, made in defiance of clouds of trained cavalry, was more perilous than the boldest advance. And so the event proved; for the first retrograde movement of the English gave the signal for attack to the whole hostile force. The bravery and skill of Captain Hartley, the officer in command of the rear-guard,* together with his extraordinary influence with the native troops, conduced materially to save the invading army from total destruction. After several furious charges, the enemy desisted, without having made a serious impression on any part of the line. But the loss of 300 men, including fifteen officers, had so completely dispirited the military leaders, that they now, in continued opposition to the arguments and entreaties of Hartley and others, declared advance and retreat alike impossible, and that nothing remained but to make peace with the Mahrattas on any terms,—in other words, to confess themselves caught in their own trap, and consent to such a ransom as their captors might dictate. They were even prepared to give up Ragoba to his foes, the ministers; but he, aware of the ungenerous intention, made private terms of surrender with Sindia. The almost independent power of this chief, and the jealousy existing between him and the Poona authorities, enabled the English, by a direct application to him, to obtain more favourable terms than might otherwise have been conceded; but despite the moderation of the victors, the Convention of Wurgaum formed a fitting ending to one of the few disgraceful campaigns recorded in the annals of the Anglo-Indian army. Every point in dispute was yielded; all acquisitions made since the death of Madhoo Rao (of course including Salsette) were to be relinquished, as also the revenue raised by the company in Broach,† and even in Surat, which the Mahrattas had never possessed. Hostages (Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart) were left with Sindia for the performance of the treaty: nevertheless, the first act of the committee by whom the whole affair had been so terribly mismanaged, on descending the Ghaut in safety, was to countermand the

order dispatched in agreement with the recent convention forbidding the advance of the troops from Bengal.‡

The presidency were indignant beyond measure at this discreditable conclusion of their attempt to show Calcutta what Bombay could do. Hastings was, on his part, no less irritated by a series of rashly-planned and ill-executed measures, which nothing but “success, that grand apology for statesmen’s blunders,”§ could excuse. His own long-cherished hopes of taking advantage of the dissensions of the Mahratta state proved equally fruitless. A mistaken idea of the connexion of Moodajee Bhonslay, the ruler of Berar, with the house of Sevajee, led Hastings to stimulate Moodajee to assert his supposed claim to the raj, or sovereignty, upon the death of Ram Rajah in 1777, and the appointment, under the name of Shao Maharaj, of a distant relative, adopted as his son, and heir to his gilded captivity by the deceased prince. The effort proved fruitless, for Moodajee retained a lively recollection of kindness received from the grandfather of the infant peishwa, and despite the promptings of ambition, was reluctant to interfere with the power of that family. These kindly feelings, one of the Hindoo guardians of the child (either Nana Furnavees or Sukaram Bappoo) had taken pains to cherish, by placing his infant charge in the arms of young Raghoo, the son of Moodajee, and styling him the protector of the peishwa. Hastings himself remarks that acts of this description establish in the minds of the Mahrattas “obligations of the most solemn kind,” and afford “evidence of a generous principle, so little known in our political system.”|| The powerful minister, Nana Furnavees, was, however, actuated by less generous principles, his chief object being to use the little peishwa as an instrument for his own aggrandisement and that of his family, to whom he designed to transmit his paramount authority over the puppet minister of a puppet rajah. These designs were not likely to escape the notice of his colleagues in office, and dissensions arose, of which Sindia took full advantage

* Sindia loudly extolled the conduct of the rear-guard, which he compared “to a red wall, no sooner beat down than it was built up again.”—(Duff.)

† A petty Mogul nabob held Broach, in subordination to the Mahrattas until 1772, when it was captured by a British force under General Wedderburne, who was killed in the assault.

‡ The hostages were, nevertheless, generously released by Sindia, who did not even demand the parole of Lieutenant Stewart not to fight against him, but, on the contrary, said—“Resume your place in the army: your sword is your subsistence.”—(Wilks.)

§ Duff’s *Mahrattas*, ii., 379.

|| *Life of Hastings*, ii., 361.

for the establishment and increase of his own power, by interfering as much as possible in the garb of a mediator.* Under the pressure of external hostilities, internal disputes invariably gave way to co-operation for mutual defence; and such was the immediate effect produced by the repudiation by the governor-general of the Convention of Wurgaum, which he declared invalid, inasmuch as the English committee had far exceeded the powers vested in them. This was actually the case; and Mr. Farmer had informed Sindia that they had no power to enter on any treaty without the sanction of the supreme government. The Mahratta chief treated this excuse as a mere pretence to avoid giving an inconvenient pledge, and scornfully asked, if their authority was so limited, by whose order they had ventured to break the treaty concluded by Colonel Upton? The question was unanswerable; the danger imminent; and Mr. Carnae, consoling himself with the idea that if, after what had passed, the Mahrattas were duped, the fault was their own, dispatched a plenipotentiary to the camp of Sindia for the avowed purpose of concluding a treaty, which he confirmed by every outward mark of good faith, under a *mental reservation* of the invalidity of the whole transaction.

On their return to Bombay, Mr. Carnae, Colonel Egerton, and Colonel Cockburn (a brave and steady soldier, but totally unfit for so arduous a command), were dismissed the service, and the recall of Colonel Leslie was only prevented by his death of fever. The offence of the latter officer was the

slowness of his march from Bengal, and his mistaken policy in allowing some Rajpoot allies of the Mahrattas to engage him in petty hostilities, and hinder the accomplishment of his main object—namely, speedy arrival at the seat of war. General Goddard was chosen by Hastings for the command, and his progress was altogether as speedy and fortunate as that of his predecessor had been slow and unsatisfactory. After receiving great kindness, bestowed under circumstances of much doubt and difficulty by the Afghan ruler of Bhopal,† Goddard marched boldly on, manifested his good sense by cordial co-operation with the Bombay government, carried out their plan of attacking Guzerat (notwithstanding the almost independent authority with which he was invested), and having, by extraordinary expedition, avoided the snares laid to interrupt his progress, crossed the Taptee on the 1st of January, 1780, and before the end of the month, carried by storm Ahmedabad, the great but decayed capital of the province. The famous fortress of Gwalior‡ was captured on the night of the 3rd of August, by a force of 2,400 men, sent direct from Bengal by Hastings; and the year terminated with the conquest of Bassein by Goddard. But these successes were counterbalanced by disasters in other quarters, which rendered the English anxious to conclude a speedy peace with the Mahrattas on almost any terms. The aspect of affairs was indeed alarming; for, at this period, Hyder Ali and the Nizam had merged, for the moment, their mutual animosities,

* Sukaram Bappoo, the chief rival of Nana Farnavee, at length became his victim, and was secretly removed from one fortress to another, till he perished miserably under bodily suffering created rather by the effects of unwholesome food and harsh treatment, than the slight infirmities of a green old age. Among his various prisons was that of Pertabgurb, on the western side of which lay an abyss formed by 4,000 feet of rugged rock. From the eastern side the spot was plainly visible where his Brahmin ancestor, 120 years before, won over by Sevajee, swore the treacherous, midnight oath to deliver up his master. Afzool Khan, to planned assassination.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, ii., 396.)

† This little principality, situated on the north-eastern bank of the Nerbudda, was formed by the usurpations of Dost Mohammed, an Afghan in the service of Aurungzebe. During the troubles that succeeded the death of the emperor, he assumed the title of nawab (*anglicé* nabob), and rallied round him bands of adherents whom he had invited from Bengal. His successors contrived to extend their sway, and, what was more difficult, to gain the good-will of the intractable Gonds, or people of Gondwarra, the inhabitants of the southern portion of the Bhopal

territory, chiefly through the instrumentality of an able Hindoo minister, Bejee Ram, and a lady of remarkable ability, who for more than half a century greatly influenced, if she did not control, the councils of the principality, under the name of Mahjee Sahiba, the “lady-mother,” an appellation descriptive of her benevolent character only, for she was childless. Hindoos and Mohammedans agree in cherishing the memory of this beloved princess, and vie with one another in citing anecdotes illustrative of her judgment and integrity. She attained the age of eighty.—(Major Hough's *Bhopal Principality*.)

‡ Gwalior, the famous state-prison of Akber and Aurungzebe, had, upon the dismemberment of the Delhi empire, fallen into the hands of a Jat chief, known as the rana of Gohud. It was taken by Sindia in 1779, and captured, in turn, by the British troops under Major Popham, the scarpd rock on which the citadel stood being ascended at daybreak by means of wooden ladders. Hastings had formed a very exaggerated idea of the power of the rana of Gohud, to whom he restored the fortress; but, on discovering his mistake, he changed his policy, and sanctioned its recovery by Sindia, in 1784—conduct which formed an article in his impeachment.

and confederated with their sworn foes, the Poona ministers, for the express purpose of expelling the English and the nabob Mohammed Ali from the Carnatic. The causes which led to this alarming coalition of Hindoo and Mussulman powers, are closely interwoven with the history of the—

MADRAS PRESIDENCY FROM 1769 TO 1780.

—The principles which guided the counsels of this government were so avowedly bad, that their ruinous consequences seem to have been the natural fruit of the tree they planted. In 1772, the presidency made war upon the poligars or chiefs of certain adjacent districts called the Marawars, not that they had any quarrel with them, but simply because the tyrannical nabob had "made them his enemies, and therefore," the Madras councillors add, "it is necessary they should be reduced. It is necessary, or it is good policy they should. We do not say it is altogether just, for justice and good policy are not often related."* Hostilities were commenced on the above not "altogether just" grounds, and they were carried on, to adopt the same smooth-tongued phraseology, in a not altogether merciful manner. The poligar of the greater Marawar (a boy of twelve years of age), was taken at the capture of his capital of Ramnadaporam, in April, 1772, after brave but unskilful resistance on the part of its native defendants (the tribe called Colerics by Orme.) The poligar of the lesser Marawar was slain after a treaty of peace had been actually concluded, owing to a misunderstanding between the English commander and the son of the nabob, Omdut-al-Omrah. The peasantry, as usual, remained passive during the siege of the various forts: they expected to be little affected by the change of one despot for another; but the grinding exactions of the new conqueror, which are said to have surpassed even those of Hyder Ali in the amount of misery inflicted, soon convinced them of their error; and on being turned out of their lands, many took up arms in sheer despair—the inverted plough

being the general symbol of revolt. The English officer, Colonel Bonjour, who had been ordered to superintend the settlement of the country in the manner desired by Mohammed Ali, remonstrated forcibly against an object which, being in itself oppressive to the last degree, would require for its accomplishment "extremities of a most shocking nature."† For instance, the impossibility of seizing the armed and watchful foe, must, he said, be met by such reprisals as the complete destruction of the villages to which they belonged, the massacre of every man in them, and the imprisonment (probably to end in slavery) of the women and children; with other "severe examples of that kind."‡ Colonel Bonjour received an answer very similar to that given by Hastings to Colonel Champion in the case of the Rohillas, to the effect, that these things were the natural consequences of war, and that the worthy Mohammed Ali must not be affronted by impertinent interference. In fact, the majority of the Madras council, at this period, were the nabob's very humble and obedient servants, although some trouble was taken to conceal the fact from their "honourable masters" in Leadenhall-street. Subserviency of so manifestly degrading a character, could scarcely be the result of any but the most unworthy motives; and the simple truth appears to have been, that the leading English councillors entered upon the extension of the power of the Mohammedan nabob of Arcot, as a particularly safe and promising speculation, since if their efforts succeeded, great part of the profit would be their own; and in the event of failure, the expenses must be borne by the company. So early as 1769, three members of council held a large assignment of territorial revenue, which the Court of Directors subsequently discovered; and many official and private persons received from the nabob, bonds for the repayment of money lent and *not lent*, the true consideration given or promised being of a description which neither party cared to specify.

* Parl. Papers, quoted by Mill, iv., 100.

† Mill's *India*, iv., 103.

‡ Col. Wilks describes the sway of Hyder as one succession of experiments as to how far extortion could be practised on the farmer without diminishing cultivation. When his subjects claimed justice at his hands, he punished the offenders by a heavy fine, but pocketed the money himself, declaring that this appropriation was, by restraining oppression, nearly as good for the people, and a great deal better for the sovereign. Nevertheless, Wilks states that

the misrule of Mohammed Ali "left at an humble distance all the oppression that had ever been practised under the iron government of Hyder."—(*Mysoor*, ii., 103.) Swartz corroborates this statement by his remarks on the regularity and dispatch with which the government of Mysoor was conducted. "Hyder's economical rule is to repair all damages without losing an instant, whereby all is kept in good condition, and with little expense. The Europeans in the Carnatic leave everything to go to ruin."—(*Idem*, p. 572.)

When Englishmen of a certain rank "could make open and undisguised offers of their services to become directors of the E. I. Cy.,"* and even stoop to occupy seats in the British parliament purchased with his funds, avowedly for the promotion of his interests, little cause for surprise remains that Anglo-Indian functionaries, placed for the time beyond the reach of that public opinion which with so many men stands in the stead of conscience, should, by degrees, lose all sense of shame, and scarcely take ordinary pains to conceal their venality. Even had they been more on their guard, the conduct of Mohammed Ali could scarcely have failed to provoke recriminations calculated to expose the whole nefarious system. His love of money, though it fell far short of his thirst for power, was still excessive: he never willingly parted with gold, but accumulated large hoards, giving bonds to his real and pretended creditors, until they themselves became alarmed at the enormous amount of private debts with which the revenues of Arcot were saddled. Meanwhile, the legitimate expenditure of government was narrowed within the smallest possible limits; the troops, as usual, were in arrears of pay, and the promises made to the E. I. Cy. remained unfulfilled. The booty obtained by the seizure of the Marawars had only served to whet the appetite of Mohammed Ali and the party of whom he was at once the tempter and the dupe. There was a neighbouring state better worth attacking—that of Tanjore, a Mahratta principality against which the nabob of Arcot had no shadow of claim, except that of having, by dint of superior strength, exacted from thence an occasional subsidy. Its late ruler, Pertap Sing, had, it is said, more than once purchased the mediation of the leading English officials by borrowing from them large sums of money at exorbitant interest: but his son and successor, Tuljajee, forsaking this shrewd policy, applied to the Dutch at Negapatam, and the Danes at Tranquebar, for the means wherewith to pay a heavy sum which he had been compelled to guarantee to the Arcot authorities as the price of peace, so late as 1771.

* *Vide Wilks' Mysoor*, ii., 213; and Burke's admirable speech on the Carnatic debts, in which he affirmed that the nabob of Arcot had returned eight members to one British parliament.

† Lord Pigot went out as a writer to Madras in 1736; was promoted to the government in 1751; went home, in 1763, with an immense fortune; and successively obtained the rank of a baronet and of

Some small portion of this agreement remained unfulfilled, and it served to afford a sufficient pretext for the invasion of Tanjore. In fact, such a formality could only be necessary for the sake of preserving appearances with the company and the British public. George III. had, it was well known, been prepared, by wilful perversions of the truth, to take a generous and manly, but wholly mistaken and prejudiced view of all matters regarding Mohammed Ali, whom he had been induced to regard as an independent sovereign of high principle and ability, whose plans the English were, in gratitude and duty, bound to further to the uttermost. Existing disputes between the governments of Poona, Gnzerat, and Berar, prevented the chiefs of the Mahratta confederation interfering to protect the rajah; therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity, hostile proceedings were commenced, and ground broken before Tanjore on the 20th of August; on the 6th of September a breach was effected; and on the following day, during the intense heat of noon, while the garrison were for the most part at rest, in expectation of an evening attack, the English troops were, with the least possible noise, marshalled for the assault. The stratagem was entirely successful; the fort was captured almost without loss, and the rajah and his family fell into the hands of Mohammed Ali, by whom his dominions were formally occupied. The indignation of the company was naturally roused by a procedure which lacked even the threadbare excuse of zeal for their service. Orders were issued (though somewhat tardily, owing to the disturbed state of affairs at home) for the restoration of the rajah of Tanjore; and Lord Pigot,† his proved friend, was sent out as governor, in 1775, for their enforcement. This act of justice was not carried through in a purely disinterested manner, for stipulations were made for the maintenance of an English garrison within the citadel, and the payment of tribute to the nabob. The latter clause failed to reconcile Mohammed Ali to the surrender of Tanjore: he even formed a plan for its forcible detention,‡ which was forestalled by the prompt

an Irish peer. A treaty with the rajah of Tanjore, in 1762, was one of his favourite measures, and he felt naturally annoyed by its shameless violation.

† *Vide Wilks' Mysoor*, ii., 225. Mohammed Ali had secretly ordered a large amount of military stores from the Danish authorities at Tranquebar, but they arrived too late for the purpose designed. The Danes had no great reason to rejoice

and decisive measures of Lord Pigot, who proceeded in person, in the spring of 1776, to reinstate Tuljajee in his former dignity. The council took advantage of his absence to consider the delicate question of the pecuniary claims of individuals, especially those of Mr. Paul Benfield. The case of this individual may serve to illustrate the character of the nabob's debts, the majority of which were similar in kind, though less in degree, in proportion to the opportunities, audacity, and cunning of the parties concerned. Mr. Benfield was a junior servant of the company, with a salary of a few hundred pounds a-year, which, as all old Indians know, could leave little margin for extravagance; nevertheless, this clever adventurer, having in his own scheming brain a talent for money-making scarcely inferior to that vested in the fairy purse of Fortunatus, contrived not only to support a splendid establishment and equipages, unrivalled at Madras even in those days of luxury and ostentation, but also to obtain certain assignments on the revenues of Tanjore, and on the growing crops of that principality, to the enormous extent of £234,000, in return for £162,000 ostensibly lent to the nabob of Arcot, and £72,000 to individuals in Tanjore. Such was the leader of the party arrayed on the side of Mohammed Ali, who had actually signed bonds to the amount of nearly a million and a-half sterling, backed by assignments on the revenues of Tanjore; and the very nature of these claims caused them to be urged with peculiar acrimony and violence. In Calcutta, the character of the majority by whom Hastings was at this very time so fiercely opposed, was wholly different to that with which Pigot had to struggle. Clavering, Monson, and Francis might be reproached with party spirit, but in all pecuniary matters their reputation was unblemished, and their public proceedings were, consequently, free from the baneful

and narrowing influence of self-interest. At Madras the case was wholly different; the majority consisted of men of deeply corrupt character, who, in return for accusations of venality in abetting the aggressions of the nabob, reciprocated the charge against all the upholders of the rajah, from the governor downwards.* The previous career of Lord Pigot did not facilitate the performance of the invidious task he had undertaken. Like Clive, he had formerly accumulated an immense fortune by questionable means, and had returned to root up abuses which, at an earlier stage, might have been nipped in the bud. Even his present visit to Tanjore, and the part played by him in the struggle for the appointment of a resident at that government, was far from being free from all suspicion of private ends and interests, either as regarded himself or his immediate retainers. But, however alike in their views and motives, the positions of Clive and Pigot were very different. The latter, instead of possessing supreme authority, was subordinate to a governor-general by no means inclined to afford cordial support to any reformatory measures, save of his own introduction; and Lord Pigot, trusting too much in his own strength, by a haughty and violent line of conduct,† soon brought matters to a crisis he was unprepared to meet. The imprisonment of Sir Robert Fletcher, with the attempted suspension of two of the leading members of council, was retaliated by his own arrest, performed in a very unsoldier-like style by the temporary commander-in-chief of the army, Colonel Stuart, with the aid of a coachman in the pay of Mr. Paul Benfield.‡ Having thus unceremoniously disposed of their chief, the majority proceeded to enact a series of legal, or rather illegal forms, and assumed the whole power of government.§ They did not long enjoy their triumph; for the home authorities, astonished and alarmed by such

in the transaction, for Hyder made them pay a fine of £14,000 sterling for furnishing his inveterate foe with warlike weapons; and Mohammed Ali, despite his desire to keep the affair quiet, liquidated but a small portion of the stipulated price. The whole matter came to light in 1801, when the E. I. Co. took possession of the Carnatic, and on the production of the secret correspondence with the nabob, paid the Danish Co. a balance of £42,304.—(Wilks, ii., 10.)

* The scale on which bribery was carried on, may be conjectured from the fact, that Admiral Pigot declared in the House of Commons, in 1778, that his brother, the late governor, had been offered a bribe, amounting to £600,000 sterling, only to defer for a time the reinstatement of the rajah of Tanjore.

† Swartz, commenting on the proceedings of which he was an eye-witness, remarks:—"Probably his intentions were laudable, but he began not with God."

‡ Col. Stuart was on terms of close intimacy with Lord Pigot; had breakfasted and dined with him on the day of the arrest, and was ostensibly on the way to sup with him, when the carriage of the governor, in which they were both seated, was, by the appointment of the colonel himself, surrounded and stopped by the troops.—(Mill, iv., 131.) The governor was dragged out, made a prisoner, and thrust into Benfield's chaise.—(Fide Abstract of Trial of Stratton, Brooke, Floyer, and Mackay. Murray: London, 1780.)

§ Hastings "persuaded his colleagues to acquiesce in the new arrangements."—(Life, ii., 106.)

strange excesses, recalled both the deposed governor and his opponents, that the whole matter might be brought to light. Before these orders reached India, Lord Pigot had sunk under the combined effects of mental suffering and imprisonment for nine months in an ungenial climate. His death terrified all parties into a compromise. The chief civil servants concerned in the affair returned to England; the four members of council paid the to them very trifling fine of £1,000 each, and the subordinates crept back into the service. Colonel Stuart was tried by a court-martial, and, unhappily for the company, acquitted.

The new governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, reached Madras in 1778, and applied himself, with much energy, to the improvement of his private fortune. The council cheerfully followed so pleasant an example; and unwonted tranquillity prevailed within the presidency, the predominant feature being wilful blindness to the storm gathering without. Yet even Mohammed Ali beheld with alarm that the utterly inconsistent, hesitating, yet grasping policy long persisted in, was about to issue in the conjoined hostilities of Hyder Ali, the Nizam, and the Mahrattas, to each of whom distinct occasions for quarrel had been given; and to these dangers the fear of French invasion, owing to the outbreak of European war, was added. Hyder Ali, their most formidable foe, had been made such by their own misdoings. He had earnestly de-

sired to keep the Mahrattas at bay by means of an alliance with the English, whose enmity he dreaded, fearing, above all things, the unseen resources of the E. I. Cy. The Madras government temporised with him for years, and he bore all manner of neglects and slights, waiting, in sullen silence, an opportunity of revenge. After the death of Madhoo Rao, he regained his previous conquests, and largely increased them. The little principality of Coorg,* and Gooty, the eagle's nest of Morari Rao, fell successively: the first, before a sudden invasion, most barbarously carried through; the other under peculiar circumstances of treachery.† The Mahratta chieftain soon perished under the influence of the insalubrious climate of a hill-fort, called Cabal Droog, aggravated by food of so unwholesome a character as to be almost poisonous. His family, being subjected only to the first of these evils, survived him fifteen years, and then perished in a general massacre of prisoners, ordered by Tippoo, in 1791.

At the close of the year 1770, Hyder contemplated with delight the fertile banks of the Kistna, newly become the northern boundary of the empire he had erected; but still unsatisfied with its extent (as he would probably have been had it comprised all India), he proceeded in person to besiege the fortress of Chittledroog,‡ which, amid the chances and changes of previous years, had fallen into the hands of a brave Hindoo

* Hyder entered Coorg in 1773. The rajah (Divaia) fled, and was afterwards captured; but the people hastily assembled on a woody hill, which was immediately surrounded by the enemy. Seating himself with much state, Hyder proclaimed a reward of five rupees for each head that should be brought to him. After receiving about 700, two were deposited on the heap of such singular beauty, that, looking earnestly at them, he ordered the decapitation to cease. The remaining Coorgs were not, however, disposed to submit tamely to the usurper notwithstanding the tribute paid to the finely-formed heads of their murdered countrymen; and when he proceeded to raise the assessment on produce from the ancient tenth to a sixth, they rose as one man, but were again reduced to submission by a sweeping massacre of nearly every individual of note.—(Wilks.)

† Gooty is almost impregnable under ordinary circumstances; but the number of refugees from the town, and the quantities of cattle driven into the citadel, had exhausted the reservoirs of water; and Morari Rao, after above three months' siege, was reluctantly compelled to treat for peace, which Hyder guaranteed on condition of receiving eight lacs of rupees in coin, or that amount in jewels, immediately, and a hostage for the subsequent payment of four more. The hostage, a brave but inexperienced youth, won by the praise bestowed on his chief and himself by the conqueror, imprudently boasted that

nothing short of being reduced to three days' water would have induced Morari Rao to capitulate. Hyder forthwith resumed the blockade, which he maintained until the garrison, in an agony of thirst, consented to an unconditional surrender, and then such as escaped with life and liberty were robbed of every other possession; even the women being despoiled of their accustomed ornaments, for the exclusive benefit of the perfidious invader.

‡ The second siege of Chittledroog lasted three months, and was attended with immense loss of life. The garrison believed the place invested with supernatural strength as the site of a famous temple dedicated to the goddess Cali, so long as her rites were duly performed. Unlike Hindoo deities in general, Cali was supposed to delight in blood, and consequently her worshippers, despite the rashness of such a proceeding, regularly sallied forth, after performing their devotions, on every successive Monday morning during three months; and notwithstanding the warning to the besiegers, given by the loud blast of a horn as the signal for the outburst, and the foreknowledge of all except the exact point of attack, the Beders never once returned without carrying off the specific number of heads to be offered to their tutelary deity, upon whose shrine about 2,000 of these bloody trophies were found ranged in small pyramids after the fall of the place.—(Colonel Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, ii., 182.)

poligar or chief. The native garrison defended the place with the fearless zeal of fanaticism, but were betrayed by a corps of Mohammedan mercenaries, whom Hyder found means to corrupt through the medium of their spiritual instructor, a hermit of reputed sanctity, who resided unmolested on the plain below, near the hostile encampment. The natives of the surrounding territory (chiefly of the Beder tribe) had manifested unconquerable attachment to the fallen chief. In vain Hyder had seized all the visible property, and consumed all the provisions on which his practised pilferers could lay hands; neither these measures, nor the infliction of the most cruel punishments on every person engaged in the conveyance of supplies to the besieged, could deter men, women, and even children from sacrificing their lives, in continued succession, in the attempt to support the garrison. Hyder at length determined to sweep off the whole remainder of the population, whose fidelity to their besieged countrymen had alone prevented their following the general example of flight to the woods, or other provinces. About 20,000 were carried away to populate the island of Seringapatam; and from the boys of a certain age, Hyder formed a regular military establishment of captive converts, in imitation of the Turkish janissaries (new soldiers.) These regiments, under the name of the "Chelah"* battalions, were extensively employed by Tippoo Sultan. The reduction of the small Patan state of Kurpa and several minor places, next engaged the attention of the Mysorean. One of these expeditions nearly cost him his life, by rousing the vengeance of a party of Afghan captives, who having overpowered their guards in the dead of night, rushed to his tent, and the foremost having succeeded in effecting an entrance, aimed a deadly blow at the rich coverlid which wrapped what he took to be the body of the sleeping despot. But Hyder himself had escaped to the protection of the nearest corps. On first hearing the uproar he guessed its cause; for it was a portion of his earthly punishment that, sleeping or waking, the dagger of the assassin was never absent from his thoughts. Despite the burden of advancing years, his mental and physical energies were wholly unimpaired.

* Chelah was a softened name for slave; first employed by Akber, who disliked the harsh term, but not the odious thing denoted. Slavery has, however, habitually assumed a milder form in the East than the West Indies, under Hindoo and Mohammedan, than under Christian masters; and the

Springing from his couch, he performed the favourite feat of the nursery hero, Jack the Giant-killer, by stealthily laying his long pillow in the place of his own body. Then cutting a passage through the side of the tent, he effected a safe and unsuspected retreat. The wretched Afghans were slain or disarmed; those taken alive were reserved for various cruel deaths, such as having their hands and feet struck off, or being dragged round the camp tied to the feet of elephants, until, and even long after, life had left their mangled bodies.

Such was the barbarous character of the foe whom the English had so long braved with impunity, that, from the sheer force of habit, they continued to treat him with contemptuous superiority, even after the unpromising state of their own affairs, in various quarters, rendered it obviously advisable to adopt a conciliatory policy. The renewal of European war, would, it was probable, prove the signal for an attempt, on the part of the French, to regain their lost possessions in India, by the co-operation of some of the more powerful native states. It was notorious that St. Lubin and other adventurers, had essayed to ingratiate themselves as representatives of their nation, with the Mahrattas and also with Hyder. But both these powers were bent on avoiding any intimate connexion with European states, whose tendency to become supreme they justly dreaded, though they were ever desirous to purchase, at a high rate, the services of foreigners to discipline their troops. Hyder especially dreaded the effect of French influence, and would certainly have had no dealings with that government, save as a counterpoise to the English and Mohammed Ali, whom he cordially detested. Affairs were in a very precarious condition, when intelligence of the renewal of war in Europe reached Bengal (July, 1778); and, though somewhat premature in character, Hastings thought the information sufficiently authentic to warrant the immediate seizure of the whole of the French settlements before reinforcements should arrive from England, or time be given for the adoption of any concerted plan of defence. Chandernagore, with the factories at Masulipatam and Karikal, surrendered without resistance. Pondicherry bondsmen of the palace, even beneath the sway of Hyder, had so much the air of "children of the house," that the good missionary, Swartz, praises the care evinced for orphans, in total ignorance that Hyder's protection had been purchased by the severance of every natural tie of family, country, and creed.

was captured after a combined attack by sea and land. The French squadron, under M. Tronjolly, was worsted by the English admiral Sir Edward Vernon, and quitted the coast by night; but the garrison, under M. Bellecombe, held out bravely, and availed themselves of every advantage derivable from the strong defences, which had been restored since their destruction in the course of the last war. A breach having been effected, and a combined assault planned by the troops under Sir Hector Munro, in conjunction with the marines and seamen, further resistance became hopeless; the place capitulated, and its fortifications were razed to the ground. The fortress and port of Mahé alone remained to the French. The territory in which they were situated (on the Malabar coast), beside being included in the recent conquests of Hyder, was the depôt for the military stores which he obtained from the Mauritius; he was therefore extremely anxious for its retention by its French possessors, and dispatched a vakeel (ambassador or envoy) to Madras, threatening the invasion of Arcot in the event of any hostile attempt on Mahé. The fortress was nevertheless besieged and taken in March, 1779, although the colours of Mysoor were hoisted on the walls with those of the French, and its troops assisted in the defence. The presidency were not without misgivings regarding the hazard incurred by these multiplied provocations, and Sir Thomas Rumbold made an effort to discover the intentions of Hyder, by dispatching to his court the missionary Swartz, the only ambassador he would consent to receive. "Send me the Christian," said Hyder; "he will not deceive me."* The reward of the envoy was to be some bricks

and mortar, to build a church, from the stores at Tanjore.† These had been already promised for service rendered to government in his capacity of a linguist, but withheld from time to time. Hyder, who had ever been distinguished by discrimination of character, fully appreciated the singlemindedness and unaffected piety of his visitor, with whom he held frequent intercourse,‡ and suffered him to convey religious instruction to the European soldiers in his service, and to hold unrestricted communication, not only with them, but also with the native troops, through the medium of the Persian, Tamul, Mahratta, and Hindoostanee languages. Swartz refused to accept any gift from Hyder, even for his church, and on taking leave, stated with earnestness, that a desire for the prevention of war was the sole motive that had induced him to undertake a political mission, which, under the circumstances, he considered as in nowise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of peace. "Very well, very well," said Hyder; "if the English offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine."

Swartz returned to Madras and related the verbal assurance, which qualified the written communication of which he was the bearer, wherein the various grievances sustained by the Mysorean state, as well as by Hyder personally, from the time of the breach of faith regarding Trichinopoly in 1754, down to the recent offence of attempting to march an army, without even asking his sanction, through his recently acquired territory of Cudapah to that of Bassalut Jung at Adoni, were enumerated; with the ominous conclusion—"I have not yet taken revenge; it is no matter."

* Swartz had exerted his great personal influence very successfully for the peaceful and equitable settlement of Tanjore. Hyder had probably heard much in his favour; and his own opinion, formed from subsequent observation, was forcibly shown by the order issued in the Carnatic war, "to permit the venerable Father Swartz to pass unmolested and show him respect and kindness, for he is a holy man, and means no harm to my government."

† Private resources Swartz had none; little help could be expected from the Europeans of Madras, who, he says sorrowfully, could contribute 10,000 pagodas for a playhouse, "but to build a pray-house people had no money." The immorality of nominal Christians, he considered the most serious obstacle to the conversion of the heathen; especially in the case of the rajah of Tanjore.—(Wilks, ii., 569.)

‡ Perhaps two more opposite characters never engaged in familiar converse than when the vindictive, ambitious, and merciless Hydersat and talked with the

gentle, self-denying, peace-loving missionary, in one of the stately halls of the palace of Seringapatam, overlooking gardens adorned with fountains, eypress groves, trees grafted so as to bear two kinds of fruit, and every refinement that luxury could suggest. Hyder appears to have made no attempt to disguise his barbarous system of administration; for Swartz speaks with horror of the dreadful tortures inflicted on the collectors of revenue if they failed, under any circumstances, to collect the stated revenue. "Although Hyder sometimes rewards his servants, yet the principal motive is fear. Two hundred people, with whips, stand always ready to use them. Not a day passes on which numbers are not flogged. Hyder applies the same cat to all transgressors alike,—gentlemen, horsekeepers, tax-gatherers, and his own sons;" but they are not dismissed, but continued in office; for Hyder, adds Swartz, "seems to think that almost all people who seek to enrich themselves are void of all principles of honour."

The authorities, immersed in the deadly stupor of indolence and venality, conducted themselves as if wholly indifferent to the threat thus significantly conveyed. Swartz found that he had been a mere tool, and that Hyder had appreciated more justly than himself the selfish duplicity of Sir Thomas Rumbold and his colleagues. Still persevering in the insulting affectation of a desire to preserve amity, they actually sent to the magnificent court of Mysore—to a sovereign enriched with the spoil of principalities and provinces—a private person of no note as ambassador (Mr. Gray), bearing with him an ill-made English saddle (hogskin to a Mussulman!) and a rifle which loaded at the breech. The presents were declined as unworthy the giver or intended receiver; neither would Hyder grant a private audience to the envoy; but on learning, through one of his nobles, the desire of the presidency to form an alliance with him, he sent word that he had at one period earnestly and repeatedly solicited it without effect, but was now strong enough to stand alone.

The most alarming part of this defiant message is said to have been withheld by Sir Thomas Rumbold,* whose policy was at the time directed to carrying off an immense fortune safe to England. Taking leave of the council, he congratulated them on the prospect of peace at a moment when every nerve ought to have been strained to prepare for defence against invasion, and took his departure in time to avoid the receipt of the recall then on its way to India.† Among the political errors urged against him was the offence given to Nizam Ali, by compelling his brother and subject, Bassalut Jung, to make over the Guntoor Circar to the company in 1779, instead of suffering him to enjoy it for life, as agreed upon by the treaty of 1768; and then using this extorted concession as a means of gratifying the cupidity of Mohammed Ali, to whom this fine district was to be let in farm. Both the London directors and the Bengal authorities strove to assuage the anger of the Nizam at conduct which he was both able and willing to resent; but the Madras officials persisted in justifying their conduct in this respect, and also

in endeavouring to repudiate the arrears of *pesheush*, or tribute, due for the other Circars, as warranted by their pecuniary necessities, and far less faulty in principle, than the breach of faith committed in withholding the tribute pledged to the emperor as a first charge upon the revenues of Bengal.

Hyder Ali had spies everywhere. He was perfectly aware of the ill-feeling existing between the controlling and subordinate governments, and made no secret of the hostile intentions and utter contempt he entertained towards the latter. The extraordinary apathy of the majority of the council, together with the violent measures used to stifle the representations of the few who advocated the adoption of immediate measures for the defence of the Carnatic, gave weight to his assertions that the time had arrived for all Indian powers to unite in expelling the one great European state which threatened to engulf every other. Now, in its moment of weakness, when the reins of authority were vested in incapable and selfish hands, a short and decisive struggle might, by the conjoined strength of Mohammedans and Hindoos, brought to bear against the common foe, be attended with such complete success as “to leave not a white face in the Carnatic.” The confederacy advocated by Hyder was actually formed, and a plan laid down which, if all parties had carried out their pledge as he did his, might have gone far to realise the desired object. Mohammed Ali, for once a true prophet, foretold the coming storm; but in vain. The presidency persisted in declaring that the dark clouds which they could not deny overshadowed the political horizon, would pass away or be dissipated by the precautions of the Bengal council;—days, weeks, months elapsed, at a time when even hours of continued peace were of incalculable importance, without any attempts for reinforcing weak garrisons in important positions, or for making arrangements for the provisioning of troops, notwithstanding the obvious necessity of the latter measure in all cases of threatened invasion, especially by a foe whose desolating and destructive mode of warfare was proverbial. Yet the very man who had once before dictated terms at the gates of Madras, was treated as a mere braggart, even after he had actually crossed the frontier, and was approaching, with his two sons, at the head of above 80,000 men, supported by a large train of artillery and a considerable body of

* *Vide* Captain James Munro's *Coromandel Coast*, p. 130. Dr. Moodie's MSS., in library of E. I. Cy.

† A criminal prosecution was commenced against him in 1782, in the House of Commons, but adjourned from time to time, and eventually dropped.

Europeans (chiefly French), constituting, without doubt, the best-disciplined army ever marshalled by a native Indian power. At length the burning of Conjeveram, the largest village in the Carnatic (sixty miles from Fort St. George, and thirty-five from Arcot), and the testimony of numerous terrified and bleeding fugitives, closely followed by the sight of the much-dreaded predatory horse of the foe, prowling about amid the garden-houses round Mount St. Thomas, changed doubts, sneers, and cavils into unspeakable dismay, which the tidings of every successive hour tended to increase. Hyder pursued his favourite policy of creating a desert about the places he desired to conquer. Round Fort St. George he drew a line of merciless desolation, extending from thirty to thirty-five miles inland, burning every town and village to the ground, and inflicting indiscriminate mutilation on every individual who ventured to linger near the ashes. The wretched peasantry, victims of the quarrels of usurping powers, whose actions they could neither understand nor influence, were sacrificed by thousands by fire or the sword, while multitudes, doomed to more protracted suffering, were driven off in a whirlwind of cavalry into exile or slavery, frequently to both united;—the father torn from his virgin daughter; the husband from the wife; the mother borne away in the torrent, unable so much as to snatch her shrieking infant from the trampling hoofs of the snorting horses. Yes! Hyder was indeed at hand: dense clouds of smoke, mingled with flame, were the sure harbingers of his approach. The country-people fled, wild with terror, to Madras; and no less than 300,000 were suffered to take up their abode in the black town in the space of three days.

The assembling of the troops was evidently of the first importance. There was no lack of men or ammunition; but a grievous deficiency of discipline, and general discontent, engendered by the severe suffering inflicted by the non-payment of arrears.* A strong and united effort, by the local authorities, to relieve their wants

and inspire confidence, was, however, all that was needed to restore their wonted efficiency; but so far from any decisive measures being taken, delays and disputes arose; for the commander-in-chief, Sir Hector Munro, could not be spared to take the head of the army, because his vote alone insured the supremacy in council of his own opinions and those of the president, Mr. Whitehill. Lord Macleod,† who had recently arrived from England with a highland regiment 1,000 strong, was desired to assume the command, but he positively refused to accept the responsibility of carrying out the hazardous plan devised by Munro, of uniting the main body with that absent in the Guntoor Circar, under Colonel Baillie, at the distant site of Conjeveram, and strongly urged the adoption of the more reasonable course suggested by the minority, of marshalling the forces with the least possible delay on St. Thomas' Mount. Munro, wedded to his project, determined to take the field in person, and actually proposed and carried that he should appoint a nominee to occupy his seat in council so long as it continued vacant. The opposition members indignantly reprobated this arrangement; and one of them (Mr. Sadleir) so provoked the majority, that they decreed his suspension, which was followed up by a challenge from Sir Hector.

The subsequent conduct of the campaign corresponded with this inauspicious commencement. In the very face of the enemy, when from Cape Comorin to the Kistna all was plunder, confusion, and bloodshed, the civil and military authorities continued to quarrel with each other. Munro persisted in attempting the junction of the troops in the centre of a country occupied by an enemy. He marched to Conjeveram with the main body, which comprised 5,209 men, of whom 2,481 were European infantry and 294 artillery, and there awaited the arrival of Colonel Baillie, whose force consisted of about 150 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys. Hyder was at the time engaged in besieging Arcot; but his invariable policy—from which the English general might have

* The force of the nabob alone, in 1776, was stated by Col. Matthews, before a Parl. Committee, to amount to 35,000 effective men. That of the presidency comprehended about 30,000; but even the English forces were on the brink of mutiny for want of pay. In 1777, a regiment completely equipped for service, and stationed a few miles from Hyder's frontier, seized Captain Campbell and their other officers, and were only brought to release them by

the interference of Col. James, the commandant of Trichinopoly, who made himself personally responsible for the utmost extent of arrears he could provide funds to meet. The European officers and native troops under Colonel Fullarton, were, at a subsequent period, twelve months in arrear, and obtained their very food on credit.

† Lord Macleod afterwards quitted India, in consequence of Col. Stuart being placed over him.

learned a useful lesson—of directing his chief energies to the most prominent danger, induced him to send the flower of the army, under Tippoo, to intercept the detachment under Baillie, which was accomplished at a spot about fifteen miles distant from Conjeveram.

After a severe conflict of several hours, Baillie succeeded in repelling his assailants, but with so much loss, that he sent word to the general he could not join him unless reinforced in such a manner as to be capable of resisting the opposition of the enemy. He suggested that Munro himself should advance to the rescue; instead of which, the general thought fit again to divide his small army by sending forward a detachment under Colonel Fletcher, to strengthen that threatened by Tippoo.

The intelligence of Hyder regarding the plans and proceedings of the English, was as speedy and reliable as their information concerning him was tardy and misleading. His plot to surprise and destroy Colonel Fletcher on the march was, happily, neutralised by the discreet change of route ordered by that officer; and it is considered, that had the junction of the detachments been followed up, after a few hours' rest, by speedy movement, the conjoined troops might have made their way safely to Conjeveram. But needless delay gave time for Tippoo to fix cannon at a strong post on the road, and, worse still, for Hyder himself to advance in person and oppose their passage. The little band, both Europeans and sepoys, sustained furious and repeated assaults with extraordinary steadiness, inspired with the hope that Munro would take advantage of the opportunity to relieve them by attacking the foe in the rear. Hyder was not without apprehensions on this score, which were heightened by the representations of the French officers in his service, especially of Lally and Pimorin.* The fate of the day hung in suspense until two of the tumbrils blew up in the English lines, and at once deprived them of ammunition, and disabled their guns; they nevertheless maintained the contest for another hour and a-half. At the end of that time but 400 men remained, many of them wounded: yet they still rallied round their

leader, desiring to cut their way through the hostile ranks or perish in the attempt. But Colonel Fletcher lay dead on the field of battle, and Colonel Baillie, willing to save the lives of his brave companions, and despairing of relief from head-quarters, held up his handkerchief as a flag of truce. An intimation of quarter being given, the English laid down their arms; but had no sooner done so than a fierce onslaught was made by the enemy, and the whole of them would have been slain in cold blood, including even the native women and children who had accompanied the detachment, but for the interference of the French mercenaries. Baillie was brought, still with wounds, into the presence of his barbarous conqueror, and eventually perished in the prison of Seringapatam. About 200 Europeans were taken, of whom fifty were officers.† They were destined to linger long years in a captivity more terrible than death.

When tidings of this disaster reached Conjeveram, Munro threw his heavy guns and stores which could not be removed, into a tank, and retreated from that place to Chingleput, where he hoped to procure a supply of rice for the army; but being disappointed by the conjoined effect of Hyder's alertness and his own want of precautionary measures, he retreated to Madras. Here general consternation and alarm prevailed, aggravated by the utter want of provisions, military stores, or funds even to pay the troops, European or native; the latter, in the service of Mohammed Ali, deserted in whole regiments simply for that reason. The state of things seemed hopeless, when the vigorous measures of the supreme government at Bengal gave a new turn to affairs. The unfaltering courage and clear perceptions of Hastings were never exerted more advantageously than at this crisis. He had already instituted a negotiation with the Nizam for the restoration of the Guntoor Circar, the chief bone of contention; and he maintained a correspondence with the Mahratta ruler of Berar, Moodajee Bhonslay, which had the effect of rendering that chief unwilling to co-operate actively with his countrymen against the English, though he did not care openly to refuse joining the general confederacy. But these measures were manifestly insufficient to meet the present crisis. Hyder had followed up his success at Conjeveram by the siege and capture of Arcot. Wandewash, Vellore, Chingleput, and other bul-

* Lally was the commander of a small body of European mercenaries who had successively served Nizam Ali and Bassalut Jung, before entering the service of Hyder. Pimorin was a French officer.

† Of eighty-six officers, thirty-six were killed, thirty-four wounded, and sixteen surrendered unhurt.

warks of the Carnatic, were wretchedly provisioned and closely blockaded; while the numerous forts under the direct control of the nabob, Mohammed Ali, were, for the most part, surrendered without a blow, from the various and often concurrent causes of disgust at an incapable and extortionate master, corruption, and despondency. Such was the news brought to Calcutta by a swift-sailing ship, flying before the south-west monsoon. In twenty-four hours the governor-general's course was taken. Supplies of every description—of men, money, and provisions—were gathered in, and dispatched under the charge of the veteran general Sir Eyre Coote, whose very name was a host, and to whom the sole conduct of the war was to be entrusted; for Hastings, rightly deeming the emergency a justification for exerting the utmost stretch of authority, took upon himself to suspend Mr. Whitehill, the venal and incapable governor of Fort St. George.

On reaching Madras, Coote found at his disposal a force numbering altogether 7,000 men, of whom only 1,700 were Europeans. Despite the manifest disparity of numbers, he earnestly desired to bring Hyder to a regular engagement, believing that the danger to be incurred by such a proceeding would fall far short of that resulting from the waste of resources and dispiriting effects of the harassing hostilities carried on by his opponent in a country already desolated. The wary Mysorean well knew the foe with whom he had now to cope, and neither taunts, threats, nor manœuvring, could induce him to risk a pitched battle. This very circumstance enabled the English to relieve Wandewash,* Permacoil, and other besieged places; but only for a time: the indefatigable foe marched off uninjured to blockade a different fortress, and Coote followed till his troops were well-nigh worn out.† At length a seeming evil procured the long-desired engagement; for Hyder, encouraged by the presence of a French fleet on the coast, intrenched his army in a strong post near Cuddalore, close to the village called by Europeans Porto Novo, and strove to

intercept and cut off the supplies of the English, who had recently been repulsed in an attack on the pagoda of Chillambrum. Coote advanced boldly, and having discovered a means of approach for a portion of the troops by a passage through a ridge of sand-hills, formed by Hyder for his own use, the general contrived, by a series of simple yet skilful and admirably executed movements, to marshal his forces in the face of several heavy batteries, and finally succeeded, after a close and severe contest, in forcing the line of the enemy and fairly putting them to flight.

At the commencement of the battle (about nine o'clock on the morning of the 1st July, 1781), Hyder took up his position on a little hill commanding the scene of action, and there he sat until four in the afternoon, cross-legged, on a low stool, watching every movement made by or against the English, and so enraged by the unexpected progress of affairs, as to become stupid with vexation. Fourteen years before, when defeated by Colonel Smith,‡ he had been observed by the English officers, with cool self-possession, issuing orders for a retreat, in the manner of one who could afford to wait and bide his day of triumph. But Hyder was an old man now; a pampered tyrant, accustomed to tread on the necks of his fellow-beings; and he believed the time at length arrived to triumph over the power of the people by whom he had been long braved with impunity. The cup of revenge was at his lips; was it to be flung to the ground almost untasted? Considerations of this nature shut out from view all thought of personal danger, and rendered him deaf to the arguments offered to induce him to quit a position rapidly becoming extremely perilous. The nobles in attendance were silenced by the obscene abuse, always lavishly bestowed by their imperious master when out of temper; their horses and servants had disappeared in the general flight before the advancing foe; but Hyder remained seated until a groom, who through long and faithful service was in some sort a privileged man, came forward, and

* Wandewash was most gallantly defended by Lieut. Flint, who, notwithstanding very deficient resources, and without a single artilleryman, not only held his ground during seventy-eight days of open trenches against the flower of Hyder's army, but raised a little corps of cavalry, and procured provisions for his garrison and supplies for the main army.

† When urged by the British commander to decide the fortune of war by a pitched battle, Hyder

is said to have replied—"What! put my chargers, worth more than one hundred rupees each, in competition with your cannon-balls, that only cost a few pice (halfpence.) No, no: you shall hear of me often, but see me never. I will keep you marching until your legs are as big as your bellies, and your bellies the size of your legs; and then you shall fight when I choose, not when you please."

‡ At Trincomalee, in 1767. (See p. 318.)

drawing the legs of Hyder from under him, thrust his slippers on his feet, and with blunt fidelity prevailed on him to rise, saying, "we will beat them to-morrow; in the meanwhile mount your horse." Hyder complied, and was out of sight in a few moments, leaving the discomfited group, around his stool of repentance, to save themselves as they best could. Luckily for them, the English had no cavalry wherewith to carry on the pursuit. The victory was, however, fraught with important consequences. It induced the hostile force to fall back upon Arcot. Sir Eyre Coote followed, and encouraged by previous success, ventured to attack Hyder near Pollilloor, in a position which, besides great natural advantages, was held by the superstitious Mysorean in particular estimation as a lucky spot, being that on which he had cut off the detachment under Baillie in the previous year. The British troops became furious at the sight of the unburied remains of their fallen comrades; but insurmountable obstacles retarded their advance. They could not get at the enemy; two tumbrils broke (as on the previous occasion); and to make the confusion greater, Sir Hector Munro, having received a hasty rebuke from Coote, sullenly seated himself beneath the only tree in the plain, and refused to issue a single command. The loss of the English was about 500 killed, including some officers; and the action would probably have terminated in a defeat, had their wily adversary suspected the existence of the dissension and confusion which temporarily prevailed in an army characterised by united action and steady discipline. The campaign ended with the surprise of the Mysoreans at the pass of Sholingur, on the road to Vellore: their loss was estimated at 5,000 men; while that of the English fell short of 100.

Meanwhile, an important change had taken place at Madras in the nomination of Lord Macartney as governor and president of Fort St. George. The appointment of a man of acknowledged talent and strict integrity was, doubtless, a great step towards abolishing the systematic venality which had long disgraced the presidency; and the earnest and straightforward manner in which the new ruler applied himself to his arduous and invidious task, justified the expectations entertained on his behalf. But the difficulties which surrounded him were great beyond expectation. Disastrous news awaited his

arrival in June, 1781. First, that the Carnatic, which Sir Thomas Rumbold had represented in a most peaceful and promising condition, was actually occupied by a ruthless foe; secondly, that the means of defence had been vainly sought for by men possessed of the local experience in which he was of necessity wholly deficient; and thirdly, that the increasing scarcity which prevailed through the Carnatic, threatened to terminate in a terrible famine. Macartney was called on to decide how best to meet these difficulties without clashing with the extraordinary powers vested in the brave and indefatigable, but peevish and exacting General Coote, and still more with the supreme authority wielded by the seemingly conciliatory, but really dictatorial and jealous Hastings.

Lord Macartney brought to India intelligence of war with Holland; and despite the objections of Coote, who desired to see the whole force concentrated for the reconquest of Arcot, the Dutch settlements were attacked; Sadras, Pulicat, and Negapatam successively taken; after which the troops of Hyder began to evacuate the forts which they had occupied in Tanjore. But these successes were soon followed by renewed disasters. A French fleet arrived on the Coromandel coast in January, 1782, and after intercepting several vessels bound to Madras with grain, landed 3,000 men at Porto Novo, where Tippoo speedily joined them with a large body of troops. An English and native detachment, about 2,000 strong, stationed in Tanjore, under Colonel Brathwaite, misled by a system of false information carried on by the spies of Hyder, were surprised by a conjoined force under Tippoo and Lally, and after maintaining a desperate resistance for six-and-twenty hours, against an enemy who outnumbered them twenty to one, were at length completely surrounded, and either slain or captured. The conclusion of a peace with the Mahrattas being officially announced at Madras in the month of June, gave an opportunity for opening a similar negotiation with Hyder. The terms on which it had been obtained were not, however, of a nature to induce so wary a politician to make important concessions. The English, he well knew, had purchased peace by the surrender of almost all they had been fighting for—that is, by reverting to the terms of the indignantly repudiated treaty of Poorunder; and even these conditions had been made through the instrumen-

tality of the formidable and intriguing Sindia.* But Hyder desired an interval of tranquillity in which to settle a plan of combined operations with the French admiral Suffrein; he therefore proceeded to treat with Sir Eyre Coote, who remained in suspense until the vakeel from Mysoor was suddenly withdrawn, and the old general discovered that his whole stock of provisions had been consumed, while the troops were kept in a state of inactivity by the artifice of Hyder. The subsequent attempts of the English to force a battle were unavailing; and matters grew from bad to worse, until towards the close of the year, Coote, who had previously sustained a fit of apoplexy, now suffered a fresh seizure, which compelled him to resign the command to general Stuart, and retire to Bengal. Madras was by this time reduced to a terrible condition. The ravages of famine, after spreading over the whole Carnatic,† at length became felt in the presidency, and increased with alarming rapidity, until the number of deaths amounted to, and continued for several weeks, at from 1,200 to 1,500. The French appear to have been ignorant of the state of affairs; for they made no attempt to blockade the coast; and supplies from Bengal and the Northern Circars came in time to aid in preventing the scourge of pestilence from following the ravages of famine. Hyder Ali had ever been accurately informed regarding the condition of every leading English settlement, and would doubtless have not failed to take advantage of the condition of the capital of the presidency, but that his marvellous energies of mind and body, so long vouchsafed, so terribly misused, were fast failing. His health had been for some time declining, and, in November, symptoms

appeared of a mortal disease described as peculiar to natives of high rank, and therefore called the raj-poor, or royal boil. He died at Chittore, in December, 1782,‡ leaving Tippoo§ to prosecute hostilities with the English. The defalcation of the Mahrattas had, it is said, led him to regret the confederacy he had formed, and even to regard it as the most impolitic act of his whole career. "I have committed a great error," he exclaimed with bitterness; "I have purchased a draught of scandee|| (worth about a farthing) at the price of a lac of pagodas. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea."¶ It would have been well for his successor had he profited by this dear-bought experience; but Tippoo, fierce, headstrong, and bigoted, was the last person in the world to gain wisdom on such easy terms. A leading characteristic of Hyder had been perfect toleration to every religious sect. Though quite capable of respecting the genuine piety of such a man as Swartz, he appears to have been himself devoid of any belief whatever; and alternately countenanced and joined in the ceremonial observances of the Mohanmedans and Hindoos, and even the grossest forms of idolatry, superstition, and magical incantation performed by the latter, simply from motives of policy.

His cruelties, great and terrible as they were, resulted from the same cause, excepting only those prompted by his unbounded sensuality. Tippoo Sultan, on the contrary, had all the insatiable ferocity of the wild beast whose name he bore, when the fearful relish for human blood has once been acquired; and none of his victims could have suggested a more appropriate badge than the stripe of the royal tiger, which formed part of his insignia.** With him, the fiendish

* The price paid to Sindia was the surrender of the city of Broach and its dependencies. The arrangements referred to (commonly known as the *Treaty of Salbye*) were concluded in May, 1782.

† An eye-witness pathetically describes the manner in which the natives, "whose very excess and luxury, in their most plenteous days, had fallen short of our severest fasts—silent, patient, resigned without sedition or disturbance, almost without complaint," perished in multitudes.—(Meoddie's *Transactions*.)

‡ It is said that Hyder, like Hamleer, swore his son to wage incessant war against the English; but the truth of this assertion is doubtful.

§ The age of Hyder is very differently stated. Wilks (the best general authority regarding Mysoor) states that he was seven years old in 1728, which would make him about sixty at the time of his death; but Mill and other writers unanimously speak of him as attaining a far more advanced age; and the careful and accurate Thornton

describes him as little younger than Aurungzebe.

|| Date wine, a cheap but very intoxicating liquor.

¶ *Mysoor*, ii., 373. Col. Wilks gives this strange confession on the authority of Poornea, the Hindoo minister, to whom it was addressed. Hyder, it must be recollected, had no ally on whom he could rely. The Mahrattas had forsaken him, and from the French he could only receive very partial aid, since he had predetermined, under no circumstances, to admit them in force to Mysoor.—(*Ibid.*, 374.) At a very critical period (March, 1782), Hyder resented the attempt of a French officer to take possession of Chillambur, by turning him out of the fort, and the troops, having no bullocks, were actually compelled to drag their artillery back to Porto Novo!

** Tippoo Sultan is thought to have been named after a famous ascetic for whom Hyder Ali had a regard, and who had assumed this strange designation to signify sovereignty obtained over the tiger-like passions of the flesh.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 561.)

delight of inflicting pain and degradation, physical and moral, seems to have been an instinct developed even in early boyhood.

In vain the stern reprimands of his dreaded father were frequently sounded in his ears; in vain the repeated infliction of corporal punishment by the long whips, which Hyder declared to be better security for good government than all the reading and writing in the world;—Tippoo could never be restrained from indulging the vicious tendencies which subsequently found vent in the form of religious persecution. He persisted in inflicting the outward mark of Islam on such Christians as fell in his power,* and insulted the peaceful Hindoo subjects of his father by wantonly defiling their places of worship, and slaying the animals they hold most sacred, especially the sacred bulls, which he recommended to his associates as the best possible beef. Yet Tippoo, stanch Mussulman as he deemed himself, and sworn foe to idolatry, was not the less a slave to the gross superstitions of which the Brahminical creed of modern times is so largely composed; and, like Hyder himself, he rarely failed, in commencing a difficult and dangerous undertaking, to have the *jebbum*—a strange species of magical incantation—performed on his behalf by the Hindoos, simultaneously with the offering up of prayers for success in the mosques.† Add to these characteristics that of an irrepressible tendency for pilfering and lying, and we have, perhaps, about as detestable a person as can well be conceived. In activity in battle, he is said to have surpassed his father, and to have equalled him in personal daring; but in every other more needful capacity of a despotic ruler, he was immeasurably inferior. His uncontested succession was ensured by the manœuvres of two Brahmins, the chief ministers of Hyder,‡ who concealed the death of the sovereign as long as possible, in order to give his heir time to return from his post on the western frontier of Mysoor, whither he

had proceeded to repel the incursions of the English under Colonel Humberstone. Lord Macartney, on learning the late event, earnestly pressed the commander-in-chief (General Stuart) to take immediate advantage of the confusion likely to arise from a change of ruler. But here again the spirit of disunion, which prevailed to so remarkable an extent in the Madras presidency, forbade speedy and combined action. The general claimed to be allowed to exercise the same independent authority bestowed by the supreme government on Sir Eyre Coote, and the governor contended, as Hastings had done in Bengal, for the entire subordination of the military to the civil authority. The general, to vindicate his alleged right, took the course natural to an opiumed and narrow-minded man, of acting in direct opposition to the instructions given by the presidency; and during the remainder of this the first war with the new ruler of Mysoor, the very spirit of discord ruled in the senate, the camp, and the field, neutralising every success, and aggravating every disaster. By the urgent solicitations of Hastings, Coote was again induced to return to the Carnatic; although, before his departure from thence, some serious disputes had taken place between him and Lord Macartney, notwithstanding the care evinced by the latter to act in the most conciliatory manner. But the ill-defined authority vested in the Supreme Council of Bengal, in conjunction with the personal misunderstanding which unhappily existed between Hastings and Macartney,§ tended to mingle personal feelings with public questions; and the discussions between them increased in violence, until the governor-general took the resolve not only of delegating to Sir Eyre Coote the uncontrolled conduct of the war, but also, in the event of determined resistance at Fort St. George, of enforcing that measure by the deposition of the president. The death of Coote, four days after landing at Madras,||

* When a youth, his father punished him severely for having inflicted circumcision on an English soldier, at a time when he was anxious to conciliate the good-will of the Madras presidency.

† The *Jebbum*, though purely a Hindoo ceremonial, was frequently resorted to by Mohammedans; one, of which the details are on record, is said to have cost Mohammed Ali £5,000, which he did not grudge, since it killed Lord Pigot; and another, after several failures, produced the death of Hyder himself.—(Wilks' *Mysoor*, ii., 255.)

‡ The chief ministers, relatively speaking; for Hyder was himself the acting head of every department.

§ The spotless integrity of Lord Macartney was a standing reproach to Hastings, who in dealing with him completely lost his temper. Thus, in a communication dated 13th of April, 1783, he desires Lord Macartney to explain some misunderstanding which had arisen on an official subject, adding as a reason, "if you consider the estimation of a man [the governor-general of India writing to the head of a subordinate presidency!] so inconsiderable as I am deserving of attention."—(*Life*, ii., 63.)

|| During the voyage, Coote was chased for two days and nights by a French ship of the line; and the agitation caused thereby accelerated his death.

perhaps prevented intestine strife; for Lord Macartney, though courteous and moderate, was by no means inclined to submit tamely to the lot of his predecessor, Lord Pigot. In all other respects the loss of the experienced general was a severe calamity. Despite the irritation and excitability consequent on ill-health, with other failings less excusable—such as extravagance as a commander, and covetousness in his private capacity—he possessed a degree of activity, precision, and experience far beyond any of his compeers; besides which, a frank soldierly manner, aided by the charm of old association, and his own strong attachment to the troops, rendered him beloved by the army in general, and especially by the native soldiers. Many a white-haired sepoy, in after times, loved to dwell on the service they had seen under “Coote Bahadur;” and offered, with glistening eye and faltering voice, a grateful tribute to his memory, while making a military salutation to the portrait of the veteran, suspended in the Madras exchange. The death of Coote was nearly simultaneous with the arrival of M. de Bussy. He had been long expected; but his plans had been twice disconcerted by the capture of the convoy destined to support him, by Admiral Kempenfelt, in December, 1781. A similar disaster occurred in April, 1782; and when, after much delay, he reached the Carnatic in the following June, he found a conjuncture of affairs awaiting him by no means favourable to his views. Hyder was dead, and Tippoo absent on an expedition for the recovery of Bednore, which had surrendered to an English force under General Matthews. This enterprise, which unforeseen circumstances alone rendered successful, had been undertaken for the express purpose of withdrawing the Mysoreans from Arcot. The object was accomplished, but the expected advantages were greatly lessened by the previous ill-advised destruction of the forts of Wandewash and Carangoli, which had been demolished by the for once united decision of Lord Macartney and General Stuart, although almost every military opinion, from that time to the present, has pronounced the measure premature, if not

wholly inexpedient. Considerable pecuniary acquisitions were expected to be realised from the capture of Bednore; but these anticipations proved delusive,—whether owing to the large sums carried off by the native governor (himself the intended victim of Tippoo),* or whether from the peculation of English officers, is a disputed question. The place was only retained about three months, at the end of which time it was captured by Tippoo, who having (by his own account) discovered that the English officers, in violation of the terms of capitulation dictated by him, were carrying away treasure and jewels to a large amount, caused them all to be marched off in irons to different prisons, where they endured a rigorous and dreary captivity, terminated, in the case of Matthews and several others, by a cruel death.

Meanwhile Bussy, disappointed in the hope of joining the main body of the Mysorean army under Tippoo, concentrated his force at Cuddalore, which was subsequently invested by General Stuart. It was of evident importance to use the utmost expedition in order to forestall the large reinforcements expected from France, and which did eventually arrive. Nevertheless, Stuart, although compelled to some degree of obedience to the Madras government, contrived to neutralise their plans by marching at the rate of three miles a-day, and thus occupied forty days, instead of the usual period of twelve, in reaching Cuddalore. The siege,† when commenced, proved long and sanguinary; and in an attack which took place on the 13th of June, 1783, the English lost upwards of 1,000 men. M. de Suffrein arrived shortly after, and landed a body of 2,400 men to strengthen the garrison; but Stuart had recklessly determined to carry out the commands of the presidency as literally as possible; and all the British troops entrusted to his charge, including a detachment under Colonel Fullarton, which had marched to his aid from Tanjore, would probably have been sacrificed to the spleen of one unprincipled man, but for the arrival of orders for the immediate cessation of hostilities, in consequence of the peace newly concluded between France and Eng-

* The governor was a chelah, or slave, named Sheikh Ayaz, to whom Hyder had been so strongly attached, that he repeatedly declared he wished he had begotten him instead of Tippoo. The consequence was, Tippoo cordially hated Ayaz, and had arranged to put him to death; but the letter being intercepted, the intended victim hastened to make his escape.

† Bernadotte, afterwards Crown Prince of Swe-

den, was captured in a midnight sally made by the garrison. He was treated with great kindness by General Wangenheim, commandant of the Hanoverian troops in the English service; and in later life, when their relative positions were strangely altered, the general had ample reason to remember, with satisfaction, the compassion he had evinced towards the wounded sergeant.—(Wilks, ii., 442.)

land. This intelligence, at an equally opportune moment, reached the troops engaged in the defence of Mangalore, which, though a place of very inferior strength, had stood a siege of fifty-six days, the defence being directed by Colonel Campbell, the attack by Tippoo himself, who had proceeded thither with the main body after taking Bednore. The French envoy, Peveron, is accused of having kept back the intelligence he came to bring, in order to enable Tippoo to retain the aid of Cossigny (the French engineer), Lally, and Boudenot. The declaration could, at length, be no longer withheld. Cossigny quitted the Mysoor army, and insisted on his companions withdrawing likewise. Tippoo was beyond measure enraged by what he considered nothing short of treacherous desertion; and his late allies, as the sole means of escaping unhurt by his resentment, were glad to avail themselves of the protection of the English. After some unsuccessful attempts to carry the place by his own unassisted strength, he agreed to an armistice, to extend over the coast of Malabar. One leading condition was the supply of a stated monthly allowance of provisions to Mangalore, sufficient for the use of the garrison without trenching on their previous stock. This stipulation was broken by his furnishing articles deficient in quantity and deleterious in quality: no salt was sent, and many of the sepoys, Colonel Wilks affirms, became actually blind, as well as affected by various other ailments, in consequence of being compelled to eat rice in its simple, undigestible state, without the addition of any of the usual condiments. The Madras government were extremely anxious to conclude a peace; and to this circumstance, as also to the want of union among those in command, may be attributed the supineness of General Macleod and the scruples which prevented his effective interposition for the succour of Mangalore, which, after nearly a nine months' siege, fell before its cruel and perfidious foe. Colonel Campbell died soon after, overwhelmed with fatigue and disappointment. Tippoo had succeeded in his immediate object of proving to the native Indian powers his sufficiency to effect that which had baffled the skill and discipline of his French auxiliaries: in every other respect he had little reason to congratulate himself on the conquest of an inconsiderable place, purchased by a long and costly siege, which, besides having hindered his attention to the affairs of his own

dominions, had left the English free to gain considerable advantages in other quarters. The misconduct of General Stuart, in the expedition to Cuddalore, had filled the measure of his offences, and induced the governor and council to order his arrest and forcible embarkation for England.* After this decisive measure matters took a different and far more favourable turn.

The abilities of Mr. Sullivan, the resident at Tanjore, and of colonels Lang and Fullarton, had been successfully exerted in various ways. Caroor and Dindegul, Palgaut and Coimbatore, were captured; and Colonel Fullarton was even preparing to ascend the Ghauts and march on Seringapatam, when he received tidings of a treaty of peace concluded between Tippoo Sultan and the Madras government, on the basis of a mutual restoration of conquests. The so-called peace was, however, but a hollow truce, to which nothing but fear of the Mahrattas and the Nizam had driven the sultan. Throughout the whole of the negotiations he behaved in the most insulting manner to the British commissioners,† who had been inveigled to his court to be held up in the light of suitors for peace; and even when the treaty was concluded, the fulfilment of his pledge of restoring his captives to liberty, gave fresh occasion for resentment, by revealing the treatment to which they had been subjected. Hyder had shown little humanity in his dealings with English prisoners, whom he kept in irons, chained in pairs, because "they were unruly beasts, not to be kept quiet in any other way." But Tippoo Sultan far surpassed his father in barbarity, and the English learned, with horror and indignation, that many officers distinguished by rank, skill, or bravery, had been poisoned or assassinated in their dungeons; that others, especially the younger of these unfortunates, had suffered torture and ignominy of a revolting description; and that even the most fortunate among the captives had sustained close confinement in loathsome dens, their beds the damp ground; with food so miserably insufficient, as to give scope for the untiring fidelity and self-devotion of their native companions in affliction, to show itself by the frequent sacrifice of a portion of the scanty pittance

* One of the sons of Mohammed Ali expressed his view of the matter in broken English, by declaring "General Stuart catch one Lord [Pigot], one Lord [Macartney] catch General Stuart."

† Messrs. Sadleir, Staunton, and Hudleston.

allowed for their maintenance, in return for unremitting labour, to mend the fare of the European soldiers.*

The treaty entered into with Tippoo by the Madras authorities was transmitted to Bengal, and signed by the Supreme Council, on whom the full powers of government had devolved, owing to the absence of Mr. Hastings at Lucknow. On his return to Calcutta, Hastings found much fault with the treaty, especially because it made no mention of the nabob of Arcot. He drew up a new one, and peremptorily commanded the Madras authorities to forward it to Tippoo. Macartney positively refused compliance; Hastings could not compel it; and so the matter ended.

CLOSE OF HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION.—Before the commencement of the war with Hyder, the financial condition of every one of the three presidencies had become seriously embarrassed. In August, 1780, the Supreme Council had been under the necessity of contracting a new debt, and when to this heavy burden on the Bengal revenues an additional one was added by the costly military operations required for the defence of the Carnatic, the governor-general felt compelled to announce to the directors the probability of a total suspension of the investment, unless the purchase-money were sent from England. Nothing short of the most absolute necessity could, however, induce Hastings to endanger his standing with the Court of Proprietors, by the execution of so unpopular a measure, while any source of supply remained available; yet such as there were had been already severely taxed. The nabob of Oude and the rajah of Benares were tributary princes. Viewed in this light, they were bound in all cases of difficulty to furnish assistance to the superior and protecting state. The degree of co-operation to be afforded was an open question, which Mr. Hastings, who now held undisputed sway in Bengal, thought fit to decide in person, and, with that intent, proceeded to the wealthy, populous, and venerated city of Benares. The rajah, Cheyte Sing, was the son and successor of Bulwunt Sing, whose alliance the English had courted during the war with Shuja Dowlah. The

usurping nabobs of Oude had asserted the claim of the sword over the district of which Benares forms the capital, on the plea of its being a district dependent on their government. Bulwunt Sing made common cause with the English; and on the conclusion of peace, an article was expressly inserted to secure him from the vengeance and cupidity of the nabob-vizier. This proved increasingly difficult; until at length, in 1774, it was proposed by Mr. Hastings, as the sole mode of protecting the rajah, to insist on his being declared independent of Oude, and tributary to Bengal. A stated sum was fixed to be paid annually, and the Supreme Council unanimously decreed that no more demands of any kind should be made upon him on behalf of the company. Cheyte Sing forwarded the tribute to Patna with remarkable regularity; nevertheless, in 1778, the necessities of the presidency were considered to justify a demand for a heavy contribution (five laes of rupees) to be furnished immediately. The rajah pleaded poverty, and asked for time; but troops were sent against him, and he was compelled to furnish the sum originally demanded, with a fine of £2,000 for military expenses. He had, unhappily, incurred the personal enmity of the governor-general, by courting Clavering and Francis during their brief day of power; and the offence was one Hastings was little disposed to let pass unpunished. In 1780, the system of exaction commenced against Cheyte Sing, was continued by a new demand of five laes, from which he endeavoured to gain relief by arguments and supplications, enforced by a private offering of two laes, which Mr. Hastings accepted, not as a part of the contribution, but as a distinct item, and then proceeded as before to exact the five laes, with an additional mulet or fine of £10,000, for the trouble of compelling payment. In 1781, the unfortunate rajah was again importuned for supplies of money and troops; but this time unreasonable demands appear to have been made, simply with the object of provoking conduct which was to serve as a plea for the complete confiscation of his whole possessions. The amount now demanded was not to be less than fifty laes, with a contingent of 1,000 men. The rajah, however, Clive, were but imperfectly, if at all provided for. Colonel Fullarton expressly states, that the natives under his command were nearly twelve months in arrear, and that many were driven to such extremities as to be compelled to sell their children into slavery to save themselves from starvation.—(*View of English Interests in India, 1782 to 1784*; pp. 98-201.)

* Their exemplary conduct is the more deserving of admiration from the severe trials to which their fidelity had been recently exposed, as recorded in the pages of Wilks, Fullarton, and other military authorities. The mismanagement of the finances of the Carnatic had told fearfully on the condition of the army; even veteran sepoys, who had served un-

haved with remarkable moderation: he doubtless guessed the views entertained by Hastings—either the seizure of his forts with their contents, or the sale of his dominions to the ruler of Oude; and he left no means untried to avert, by submission, evils which it was hopeless to combat by force. On the approach of the governor-general, he went to meet him with every demonstration of respect; and, in token of entire submission, laid his turban on the lap of the reserved and impassive Englishman, the last act of humiliation in a country, where, to be bare-headed, is considered unspeakable degradation. This conduct did not check, perhaps it accelerated the extreme measures adopted by Hastings, who asserted that besides falsely pleading poverty, the rajah was really plotting to become perfectly independent of the presidency; but to this charge his youth and inexperience afford the best contradiction, when viewed in conjunction with the unresisting manner in which he suffered the governor-general to take possession of Benares, though attended by a very slender escort, and even to go the length of arresting and confining him to his own palace. The two companies of sepoy placed on guard there, were not provided with ammunition, so little was any resistance anticipated on the part of this incipient rebel. The people were expected to witness, with indifference, the change of rulers. On the contrary, they were rendered desperate by an aggression which involved the downfall of one of their own race and religion, to be followed by the transfer of the sacred city and its fertile environs into the hands of aliens, who had no sympathies with their creed, and no interest in their welfare. Great crowds assembled round the palace and blocked up all the avenues; and before reinforcements with ammunition could arrive to support the sepoy guard, a furious attack had been made, in which the greater part perished. The rajah, so far from coming forth to head the mob, took advantage of the confusion to make his escape, and was let down the steep bank of the Ganges, by means of turbans tied together, into a boat which conveyed him to the opposite shore. The multitude rushed after him, leaving the palace to be occupied by the English troops. Had they at once proceeded in search of Hastings, no effective resistance could have been offered, since he had no protection beyond that of the thirty gentlemen of his party and fifty armed sepoy.

Cheyte Sing had, however, no thought of organised operations against his persecutor, and he sent repeated apologies, and offers of the most complete submission, all of which were treated with contemptuous disregard. The numbers of the insurgents continued to increase; the building in which the English party had taken up their abode was blockaded, and the sole means of conveying intelligence to Bengal was by the subtlety of native messengers, who, taking advantage of the custom of laying aside in travelling their large golden earrings, because tempting to thieves, placed on this occasion not the ordinary quill or roll of blank paper in the orifice, but dispatches from Hastings to the commanders of British troops to come to his rescue. Before these orders could be executed, affairs assumed a still more menacing aspect. A slight skirmish, brought on by a premature attack made by an English officer, at the head of a small body of men, on Ramnagar, a fortified palace beyond the river, terminated in the death of the leader, and many of his followers by the hands of the people of Benares. The survivors retreated; and Hastings, alarmed for his own safety, fled by night to the fortress of Chunar, leaving the wounded sepoy behind. The excitement spread for hundreds of miles; the husbandman quitted the field, the manufacturer his loom, and rallied round Cheyte Sing; the oppressed population of Oude rose against the misgovernment of Asuf Dowlah and his English allies; and even Bahar seemed ripe for revolt. The rajah at length assumed a haughty and defiant tone; but the absence of skill or discipline rendered the tumultuary force thus voluntarily assembled utterly incapable of taking the field against a European army, and the troops, under Major Popham, were everywhere victorious. The fastnesses of the rajah were stormed, his adherents, to the number of 30,000, forsook his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations, while their late ruler quitted the country for perpetual exile. Benares was annexed to the British dominions. To save appearances, a relation of the banished ruler was appointed rajah, but, like the nabob of Bengal, he became a mere stipendiary, removable at the pleasure of the presidency. This tyrannical procedure completely failed in promoting the avowed object of Hastings—the attainment of a large sum of ready money; for, notwithstanding the indignities used in searching even the

persons as well as the wardrobes of the mother, wife, and other females of the family of Cheyte Sing (in violation of the articles of capitulation), the booty realised was not only unexpectedly small (£250,000 to £300,000), but was wholly appropriated as prize-money by the army.* Thus the immediate effect of the expedition was to enhance the difficulties it was intended to relieve, by the expenses attendant on putting down a revolt wantonly provoked; and so far from meeting the approbation of the company, the conduct pursued towards the rajah was denounced as "improper, unwarrantable, and highly impolitic." Nevertheless, the war into which Cheyte Sing had been driven was held to justify his expulsion from Benares; and the positive declaration of Hastings, that an order for the reinstatement of the rajah would be regarded by him as the signal for his own instant resignation of office, probably prevented any step being taken to make amends for past wrongs.

The next expedient adopted to fill the empty treasury of Calcutta, was more successful in its results, but, if possible, more discreditable in character. Asuf-ad-Dowlah, the successor of Shuja Dowlah, was a young man, not devoid of a certain description of ability† and kindly feeling; but his better qualities were neutralised by an amount of indolence and sensuality, which rendered him a political nobody in the sight of the presidency, and a severe scourge to his subjects by reason of the extortions and cruelty perpetrated in his name by unworthy favourites. Already sundry concessions (such as the Benares tribute) had been extorted from him, which Hastings would never have so much as proposed to his father; and these, together with general misgovernment and extravagance, had reduced the treasury of Oude to a condition which left its master little to fear from the rapacity of his neighbours. Continued drought had heightened his distress, by diminishing the power of the people to meet the heavy taxation demanded

from them; and he found himself unable to pay any portion of the arrears of his own mutinous troops, much less to maintain the costly detachment and the long train of officials, civil as well as military, forced upon him by the English.

In an evil hour he sought counsel with the governor-general at Chunar, pleaded poverty, and gave as one, among many reasons for inability to fulfil the heavy conditions into which he had been led to enter, the large proportion of his father's wealth bequeathed to his mother and grandmother. These princesses had been uniformly treated by Shuja Dowlah with the highest consideration and respect: his wife, especially, had won his entire confidence by repeated evidences of energetic and devoted affection. During his lifetime the chief direction of his pecuniary affairs had been entrusted to her management, and, after his death, the two ladies remained in possession of certain extensive jaghires, with other property, to a large extent; not for their exclusive use, but for the maintenance of the rest of his family and those of preceding nabobs, amounting (including female retainers of all kinds) to about 2,000 persons. The profligate prince had early coveted the inheritance of his relatives, and he continued to exact contributions from them, until his mother, wearied and alarmed by his importunities and injurious treatment, consented to surrender an additional sum of thirty laes, on condition of his signing a formal pledge, guaranteed by the Supreme Council of Bengal, that she should be permitted to enjoy her jaghires and effects exempt from further persecution. This covenant, effected through the mediation of Bristowe, the English resident at Lucknow, was approved of and confirmed by the majority then dominant in Calcutta. Hastings disapproved, but being in the minority, could offer no effective opposition. In 1781, when his authority became again (for a time) supreme, he scrupled not to set aside all former promises by empowering the nabob

* Hastings would seem to have outwitted himself in this matter. The wife of Cheyte Sing was a person of high character, much-beloved and esteemed, and safety and respect for her person, together with those of the other ladies of the family of the ill-fated rajah, were among the express terms of capitulation. Yet Hastings was unmanly enough to question the "expediency of the promised indulgence to the rancee," and to suggest that she would "contrive to defraud the captors of a considerable portion of the booty, by being suffered to retire without examina-

tion." The intimation did not pass unheeded. The defenceless ladies were subjected to the insulting search of four females, but with what effect does not appear; and their persons were further insulted by the licentious people and followers of the camp. But the officers and soldiery maintained that Hastings had expressly made over to them the whole profits of this nefarious transaction, and would not so much as lend a portion to government. The share of the commander-in-chief was £36,000.—(Mill, Moodie, &c.)

† *Vide* the charming stanzas translated by Heber.

to take possession of the jaghires of both princesses, as a means of paying his debts to the company; and, as a further assistance, the English troops, whose maintenance pressed heavily on the Oude revenues, were to be withdrawn. Mr. Hastings asserted, in justification of his conduct, that the begums had evinced an inclination to take part with Cheyte Sing; but the accusation is improbable in itself, and unsupported by any reliable evidence: their other alleged fault—of embarrassing the government of the nabob—was contradicted by the statements repeatedly forwarded by the English resident, of the persecutions endured by them at the hands of the local authorities. Asuf-ad-Dowlah (who, ever since the covenant signed in 1775, had been repeatedly violating it in different ways) was at first delighted at having his refractory relatives deprived of the protection to which they had constantly appealed; but on quitting Chunar, and regaining his own dominions, he began to consider the matter in a different light. Unsupported by the plausible reasoning of Hastings, the proposed plan of despoiling his mother and grandmother appeared fraught with ignominy; and Mr. Middleton (who had been recently restored to the position of British resident) described, in the strongest terms, the almost unquerable repugnance evinced by the nabob towards the violent measures agreed on at Chunar. He was peremptorily informed, that in the event of his continued refusal, the seizure of the jaghires and personal property of the begums would be accomplished by the English without his co-operation. The weak and vacillating prince, fearful of the effect such an assumption of authority by foreigners might produce on the minds of his subjects, reluctantly consented to accompany the expedition sent to attack the princesses in their own territory, in the

commencement of the year 1782. The town and castle of Fyzabad (the second place in Oude) were occupied without bloodshed, the avenues of the palace blocked up, and the begums given to understand that no severities would be spared to compel the complete surrender of their property. But here a serious obstacle presented itself. Even Middleton doubted what description of coercion could be effectually adopted, without offering an offence of the most unpardonable description to the whole native population; for the ladies were hedged in by every protection which rank, station, and character could confer, to enhance the force of opinion which, on all such occasions, is in the east so strong and invariable, "that no man, either by himself or his troops, can enter the walls of a zenana, scarcely in the case of acting against an open enemy, much less the ally of a son acting against his own mother."* In this dilemma it was deemed advisable to work upon the fears and sympathies of the begums in the persons of their chief servants, two eunuchs, who had long been entrusted with the entire management of their affairs. There is, perhaps, no page in Anglo-Indian history so deeply humiliating to our national feelings, as that which records the barbarities inflicted on these aged men, during a period of nearly twelve months. Certainly no other instance can be found equally illustrative of the false varnish which Hastings habitually strove to spread over his worst actions, than the fact that, after directing the mode of dealing with the eunuchs—by rigorous confinement in irons, total deprivation of food, and, lastly, by direct torture;† after inciting the indirect persecution of the princesses and the immense circle of dependants left to their charge by the nabob-vizier, by cutting off their supplies of food and necessities;‡—after quarrelling with and dismiss-

* Middleton's defence. *Vide* House of Commons Papers, March, 1781; and Mill's *India*, vol. iv.

† The account of these disgraceful proceedings is very fragmentary, but amply sufficient to warrant the assertions made in the text. Three principal facts are on record. The first is a letter from Middleton to the English officer on guard, dated January, 1782, desiring that the eunuchs should "be put in irons, kept from all food," &c. The second is a letter from the same officer to the president, pleading the sickly condition of his prisoners as a reason for temporarily removing their chains, and allowing them to take a little exercise in the fresh air. This was refused, and the captives were removed to Lucknow. The third communication, addressed still by one company's servant to another, is a direct order for the admission of torturers to "inflict corporal punishment"

on two aged prisoners accused of excessive fidelity to their mistresses; and lest the feelings of a British officer should rise against the atrocities about to be inflicted, an express injunction was added, that the executioners were to have "free access to the prisoners, and to be permitted to do with them whatever they thought proper."—(*Idem.*)

‡ The women of the zenana were at various times on the eve of perishing for want; and on one occasion the pangs of hunger so completely overpowered the ordinary restraints of custom, that they burst in a body from the palace and begged for food in the public bazaar, but were driven back with blows by the sepoys in the service of the E. I. Co.—(*Dr. Moodie's Transactions*, p. 455.) Major Gilpin, the commandant of the guard, humanely advanced 10,000 rupees for the relief of these unfortunates.

ing his favourite *employé* Middleton, for having been backward in conducting a business from which a gaoler of Newgate prison might turn with disgust,—he, nevertheless, when it became advisable to adopt lenient measures (since no further payments could be extorted by cruelty), had the consummate hypocrisy to remove the guard from the palace of the begums, and release the eunuchs, on the express understanding that their sufferings had proceeded from the nabob and his ministers, but their release from his own compassionate interference. The previous ill-feeling justly entertained by the princesses and their adherents against Asuf-ad-Dowlah, probably lent some countenance to this untruth; and the commanding officer by whom the eunuchs were set at liberty, described, in glowing terms, the lively gratitude expressed by them towards their supposed liberator. “The enlargement of the prisoners, their quivering lips and tears of joy, formed,” writes this officer, “a truly affecting scene.” He adds a remark, which could scarcely fail to sting the pride, if not the conscience, of one so susceptible of censure in disguise—“If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will, at the last trumpet, be translated to the happiest regions in heaven.”* In the benefits to be derived from the recent despoliation, Hastings hoped to share largely, for he expected that the E. I. Cy., in gratitude for an accession of £600,000 to their exhausted treasury, would cheerfully assent to his appropriation of the additional sum of £100,000, which he had actually obtained bonds for from Asuf-ad-Dowlah at Chunar. An extortion like this, committed at a time when the excessive poverty and heavy debts of the nabob-vizier, the clamours of his unpaid troops, and the sufferings of the mass of the people, were held forth in extenuation of the oppression of his mother and grandmother, together with other acts of tyrannous aggression, needs no comment. The directors positively refused to permit his detention of the money, and, moreover, commanded that a rigorous investigation should be instituted into the charges of disaffection brought against the begums; and that, in the event of their innocence being proved, restitution should be made.

* Parl. Papers, quoted by Mill, iv., 458.

† Letter of Hastings to council, 1784. They gave rich gifts to Mrs. Hastings, in the form of chairs and couches of exquisitely carved ivory, &c.

‡ Except a heavy exaction from Fyzoolia Khan.

Hastings strongly deprecated this equitable measure. He urged that the evidence offered under such circumstances would be sure to be favourable to persons whose cause should be so manifestly upheld by the company; and supported his views on the subject by many characteristic arguments, such as its being unsuitable to the majesty of justice to challenge complaint. A compromise was effected; the nabob, at his own urgent desire, was permitted to restore the jaghires wrested from his relatives; while the ladies, on their part, thankful for even this scanty justice, “made a *voluntary* concession of a large portion of their respective shares” of the newly-restored rents.†

This transaction is the last of any importance in the administration of Warren Hastings.‡ Various causes appeared to have concurred to render him as anxious to resign as he had once been to retain his post. The absence of his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, and his own failing health, had doubtless their share in rendering him weary of a task, the difficulties of which had been lately increased by a change in the council-board calculated to destroy the despotic power essential to the policy of a ruler, whose measures, however cleverly planned and boldly executed, were rarely of a character to bear impartial, much less hostile criticism. Beside these reasons, his opponents suggested that of recent private extortions from the nabob-vizier; and it cannot be forgotten, that although he pleaded urgent necessity as an inducement for the directors to suffer him to appropriate the bonds obtained at Chunar, yet, about three years later, he was enabled, notwithstanding his habitual extravagance, to bring home a fortune avowedly not far short of £100,000, apart from the costly jewels exhibited by Mrs. Hastings, and the well-furnished private purse which there are grounds for believing her to have possessed.

The prolonged administration of Hastings, his winning manner, and conversance with native languages, together with the imposing effect of the state by which he had, from motives of policy, thought fit to surround himself, made a deep impression on the minds of the Indian population. I have myself met with ballads, similar to those alluded to by Heber and Macaulay, which commemorate the swift steeds and richly-caparisoned elephants of “Sahib Hushting;” they likewise record his victory over Nuncomar who refused to do him homage.

The Indian version of the story makes, however, no mention of the accusation of forgery, but resembles rather the scripture story of Haman and Mordecai, with a different ending. The Bengalees possibly never understood the real and lasting injury done them by Hastings, in fastening round their necks the chains of monopoly, despite the opposition of his colleagues, and contrary to the orders of the company. Once fully in operation, the profits of exclusive trade in salt and opium* became so large, that its renunciation could spring only from philanthropy of the purest kind, or policy of the broadest and most liberal character. With his countrymen in India, Warren Hastings was in general popular. It had been his unceasing effort to purchase golden opinions; and one of the leading accusations brought against him by the directors, was the wilful increase of governmental expenses by the creation of supernumerary offices to provide for adherents, or to encourage those already in place by augmented salaries. His own admissions prove, that attachment to his person, and unquestioning obedience to his commands, were the first requisites for subordinates; and the quiet perseverance with which he watched his opportunity of rewarding a service, or revenging a "personal hurt," is not the least remarkable feature in his character.

He quitted India in February, 1785. Notwithstanding the unwarrantable measures adopted by him to raise the revenues and lessen the debts of the company, he failed to accomplish these objects, and, on the contrary, left them burdened with an additional debt of twelve-and-a-half million, and a revenue which (including the provision of an European investment) was not equal to the ordinary expenses of the combined settlements.† Doubtless, great allowance must be made for the heavy drain occasioned by the pressing wants of the Bombay and Madras presidencies, and decided commendation awarded for the energetic steps taken to avert the ruin in which the Mahratta war and the invasion of Hyder

threatened to involve these possessions: but it is equally true, that the double-faced and grasping policy of the governor-general tended to neutralise the benefit of his courage and decision, and, as in the case of Lord Pigot, fomented, instead of allaying, the evils of dissension and venality, which were more destructive to the interests of the E. I. Cy. than any external opposition.

Had Hastings resolved to abide by the conviction which led him on one occasion to exclaim, that he "wished it might be made felony to break a treaty," the consequences would have been most beneficial both to India and to England, and would, at the same time, have saved him long years of humiliation and anxiety. He little thought that the Rohilla war, the sale of Allahabad and Oude, and the persecution of the begums, would rise in judgment against him on his return to his native land,—bar his path to titles and offices of state, and compel him to sit down in the comparatively humble position which had formed the object of his boyish ambition, as master of Daylesford, the ancient estate of his family.

But Francis, now a member of parliament, had not been idle in publishing the evil deeds which he had witnessed without power to prevent; and Burke, whose hatred of oppression equalled his sympathy for suffering, brought forward the impeachment as a question which every philanthropist, everyone interested in the honour of England or the welfare of India, was bound to treat as of vital importance. Political motives, of an exceptionable character, on the part of the ministers, favoured the promoters of the trial; and after many tedious preliminaries, Warren Hastings appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and knelt before the tribunal of his country, in presence of one of the most remarkable assemblages ever convened in the great hall of William Rufus. Of the brilliant aristocracies of rank, talent, wealth, and beauty, of which England then boasted, few members were absent. The queen and princesses had come to witness the impeachment of a subject known to

* The 12th article of impeachment against Hastings set forth, "that he granted to Stephen Sullivan, son of Lawrence Sullivan, chairman of the Court of Directors, a contract for four years for the provision of opium; that in order to pay for the opium so provided, he borrowed large sums at an interest of eight per cent., at a time when he declared the drug could not be exported with profit; and yet he sent it to China, which was an act of additional criminality, as he knew that the importation of opium was prohibited

by the Chinese." Sullivan sold the contract to a Mr. Benn for £40,000; Benn to a Mr. Young for £60,000; and the latter reaped a large profit.—(Mill.)

† A comparison of the receipts and disbursements of the year ending April, 1786, exhibited a deficit of about £1,300,000. The arrears of the army amounted to two million; and "the troops at Madras and Bombay were in a state of utter destitution, and some of them in open mutiny." The ascertained Bengal debt alone was about four million sterling.

have enjoyed no ordinary share of royal favour, and to listen to the charges urged against him by the thrilling eloquence of Burke, the solid reasoning of Fox, and the exciting declamation of Sheridan. The trial commenced with a strong feeling on the part of the public against the accused; but it dragged on, like most state proceedings, until people ceased to care how it ended. At length, after seven years spent in law proceedings of a most tedious character, the wrongs inflicted in a distant clime, and at a distant period, became almost a matter of indifference: a sort of sympathy, such as is often felt for acknowledged criminals, took the place of lively indignation; and when the inquiry ended in the acquittal of Hastings, he was generally believed to have been sufficiently punished by the insuperable obstacles which his peculiar position had imposed to prevent his selection for any public office, and by the ruinous condition to which his finances had been reduced by the costly expenses, legitimate and illegitimate, of the painful ordeal through which he had passed. The law charges alone exceeded £76,000. Probably still larger sums were expended in various kinds of secret service—"in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts;"* beside £12,000 spent in purchasing, and £48,000 in adorning, Daylesford: so that Hastings, when finally dismissed, turned from the bar of the House of Lords an absolute pauper—worse than that—an insolvent debtor. The company came to his relief with an annuity of £4,000 a-year, and a loan of £50,000, nearly half of which was converted into a gift; and they continued to aid him at intervals, in his ever-recurring difficulties, up to the period of his death, in 1818, aged eighty-six.

* Macaulay's *Essay on Hastings*, p. 100.

† Lord Macartney, on taking possession of the office of president of Madras, made a formal statement of his property, and on quitting office presented to the company a precise account of the increase effected during the interval. The E. I. Co. met him in the same frank and generous spirit by the gift of an annuity of £1,500. It is to be regretted that he lent the sanction of example to the vice of duelling, then frightfully prevalent, by a meeting with a member of council (Mr. Sadleir) with whom a misunderstanding had arisen in the course of official duty. On his return to England he was challenged by General Stuart, and slightly wounded. The seconds interfered, and the contest terminated, though Stuart declared himself unsatisfied.

‡ The establishment of a Board of Control, with other important measures, respectively advocated by Fox or Pitt, will be noticed in a subsequent section.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—

The government of Lord Macartney terminated in Madras about the same time as that of Mr. Hastings in Bengal; and a high testimony to the ability and unsullied integrity† of the former gentleman, was afforded by the offer of the position of governor-general, which he declined accepting, unless accompanied by a British peerage. This concession was refused, on the ground that, if granted, it would convey to the public an impression that a premium was necessary to induce persons of consideration in England to fill the highest office in India, and the appointment was consequently conferred on Lord Cornwallis. To him was entrusted the charge of carrying into execution some important alterations contemplated by the act of parliament passed in 1784; and by means of an express provision in the act of 1786, the powers of commander-in-chief were united in his person with that of the greatly enlarged authority of governor-general.‡ He arrived in Calcutta in the autumn of 1786, and immediately commenced a series of salutary and much-needed reforms, both as regarded the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. Mr. Maepherson, the senior member of council,§ who had temporarily presided over the affairs of government, had successfully exerted himself to diminish the waste of the public finances connived at by his predecessor; and Lord Cornwallis set about the same task with a steadiness of principle and singleness of motive to which both English officials and Indian subjects had been long unaccustomed. The two great measures which distinguish his internal policy, are the establishment of a fixed land-rent throughout Bengal, in exact accordance with the opinions of Francis; and the formation of a

§ Mr. Wheler was dead. Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Maepherson went to India, in 1766, as purser in a vessel commanded by his uncle, contrived to ingratiate himself with the nabob of Arcot, and returned to England as his agent. After a strange series of adventures, which it is not necessary to follow in detail, he rose to the position of acting governor-general, in which capacity he obtained for the company the valuable settlement of Penang or Prince of Wales' Island, by an arrangement with the King of Quedah. His brief administration was likewise marked by a duel with Major Brown (on the Bengal establishment.) The Court of Directors, tired of witnessing the peace of their territories endangered by such proceedings, unanimously affixed the penalty of dismissal from the company's service to any person who should send a challenge on account of matters arising out of the discharge of their official duties.—(Auber's *British India*, ii., 39.)

judicial system to protect property. The necessity of coming to some speedy settlement regarding the collection of territorial revenue, whether under the denomination of a rent or a tax, is the best apology for the necessarily imperfect character of the system framed at this period on the sound principle of giving a proprietary right in the soil; but even a brief statement of the different views taken by the advocates of the zemindarree settlement, and of the opposite arguments of those who consider the right in the soil vested in the ryots or cultivators, would mar the continuity of the narrative.

The foreign policy of the governor-general was characterised by the novel feature of the reduction of the rate of tribute demanded from a dependent prince. Asuf-ad-Dowlah pleaded, that in violation of repeated treaties, a sum averaging eighty-four lacs per annum had been exacted for the company during the nine preceding years; and his arguments appeared so forcible, that Lord Cornwallis consented to reduce this sum to fifty lacs per annum, which he declared sufficient to cover the "real expenses" involved in the defence of Oude. Negligent, profuse, and voluptuous in the extreme, the nabob-vizier was wholly dependent on foreign aid to secure the services of his own troops or the submission of his own subjects; he had therefore no alternative but to make the best terms possible with the English, and might well deem himself fortunate in finding the chief authority vested in a ruler whose actions were dictated by loftier motives than temporary expediency; and influenced by more worthy considerations than the strength or weakness of those with whom he had to deal. The extreme dissatisfaction openly expressed by Englishmen in India, regarding the peace of 1784, and the insulting conduct of Tippoo, led the Mahrattas and the Nizam to believe that the E. I. Co. would gladly take part with them in a struggle against one whose power and arrogance were alarmingly on the increase; but their overtures were met by an explicit declaration, that the supreme government (in accordance with the recent commands of the British parliament) had resolved on taking no part in any confederacy framed for purposes of aggression. Tippoo and the Mahrattas therefore went to war on their own

resources, and continued hostile operations for about a year, until the former was glad to make peace, on not very favourable terms, in order to turn his undivided attention to a portion of the territories usurped by his father, and enact a new series of barbarities on the miserable inhabitants of the coast of Malabar. The first measure by which this barbarian signalled his accession to despotic sway, was the deportation of upwards of 30,000 native Christians from Canara. The memory of the deeds of Cardinal Menezes, and other stanch supporters of the "Holy Inquisition," had not passed away; and Tippoo affirmed, that it was the narrative of the intolerance exercised by the "Portuguese Nazarenes" which caused "the rage of Islam to boil in his breast,"* and induced him to vent his wrath upon the present innocent generation, by sweeping off the whole of both sexes and every age into slavery, and compelling them to observe and receive the external rites of the Moslem creed. Of these unfortunates, not one-third are believed to have survived the first year of exile and degradation. The brave mountaineers of Coorg drew upon themselves the same fate by the constant struggles for liberty, to which they were incited by the odious tyranny of the usurper. Tippoo at length dealt with them in the manner in which a ferocious and half-erased despot of early times did with another section of the Indian population.† The dominant class in Coorg had assembled together on a hilly, wooded tract, apart from the lower order of the peasantry (a distinct and apparently aboriginal race.) Tippoo surrounded the main body, as if enclosing game for a grand circular hunt; beat up the woods as if dislodging wild beasts; and finally closed in upon about 70,000 persons, who were driven off, like a herd of cattle, to Seringapatam, and "honoured with the distinction of Islam,"‡ on the very day selected by their persecutor to assume sovereign, or rather imperial sway, by taking the proud title of Padsha, and causing his own name to be prayed for in public in place of that of the Mogul Shah Alum, as was still customary in the mosques all over India.

The Guntoor Circar, to which the English had become entitled upon the death of Bassalut Jung, in 1782, by virtue of the

great detestation for the immorality of the Coorgs, who, he truly affirmed, systematically pursued a most extraordinary system of polygandria, by giving to several brothers one and the same woman to wife.

* Wilks' *History of Mysoor*, ii., 530.

† Mohammed Toghlaq. See page 75.

‡ Tippoo, in his celebrated production, the *Sultaun-u-Towareekh*, or King of Histories, expresses

treaty of 1768, was obtained from Nizam Ali in 1788. The cession was expedited by a recent quarrel between him and Tippoo Sultan, which rendered the renewal of the treaty of 1768 peculiarly desirable to the former, inasmuch as it contained a proviso that, in the event of his requiring assistance, a British contingent of infantry and artillery should march to support him against any power not in alliance with the E. I. Cy.; the exceptions being the Mahrattas, the nabobs of Arcot and Oude, and the rajahs of Tanjore and Travancore. The Nizam would fain have interpreted the revived agreement as warranting a united attack on Mysoor; but his schemes were positively rejected by Lord Cornwallis, on account of the recent engagement entered into with that state, which was still professedly at peace with the English. Yet it was evident to every power in India, that the sultan only waited a favourable opportunity to renew hostilities. The insulting caricatures of many of the company's servants, held up to mockery and coarse jesting on the walls of the houses of Seringapatam, might have been an idle effusion of popular feeling; but the wretched captives still pining in loathsome dungeons, in violation of the promised general release of prisoners, and the enrolment of a number of English children as domestic slaves to the faithless tyrant, afforded, in conjunction with various rancorous expressions, unmistakable indications of his deadly hatred towards the whole nation.* The inroad of the Mysoorians on the territory of the rajah of Travancore, brought matters to an issue. The rajah, when menaced by invasion from his formidable neighbour, appealed to the E. I. Cy. for their promised protection, and an express communication was made to Tippoo, that an attack on the lines of defence formed on the Travancore frontier, would be regarded as a declaration of war with the English. The lines referred to, constructed in 1775, consisted of a broad and deep ditch, a strong bamboo hedge, a slight parapet, and a good rampart, with bastions on rising grounds, almost flanking one another. They extended a distance of thirty miles (from the island of Vaipcen to the Anamalaiah range), but were more imposing than effectual, as it was hardly possible to defend so great an extent. Tippoo approached this barrier in December, 1789,

and proceeded to erect batteries. An unsuspected passage round the right flank of the lines, enabled him to introduce a body of troops within the wall, and he led them onward, hoping to force open the nearest gate, and admit the rest of the army. The attempt proved, not merely unsuccessful, but fatal to the majority of the assailants. They were compelled to retreat in confusion, and, in the general scramble across the ditch, Tippoo himself was so severely bruised, as to limp occasionally during the remainder of his life. His palanquin fell into the hands of the enemy, the bearers having been trodden to death by their comrades; and his seals, rings, and personal ornaments remained to attest his presence, and contradict his reiterated denial of having borne any part in a humiliating catastrophe, which had materially deranged his plans. More than this, alarm at the probable consequence of a repulse, induced Tippoo to write, in terms of fulsome flattery, to the English authorities, assuring them that the late aggression was the unauthorised act of his troops. Lord Cornwallis treated these assertions with merited contempt, and hastened to secure the co-operation of the Nizam and the Mahratta ministers of Poona, to which he would gladly have added that of Sindia, had not the price demanded been the aid of British troops for aggressive warfare in Rajpootana, which was unhesitatingly refused. He proceeded to make vigorous preparations for a campaign, by assembling troops, collecting supplies, and meeting financial difficulties in an open and manly spirit. Further outlay for a European investment he completely stopped, as a ruinous drain on resources already insufficient to meet the heavy expenditure which must inevitably be incurred in the ensuing contest, the avowed object of which was to diminish materially the power of the sultan; for, as Lord Cornwallis truly declared, in a despatch to General Meadows, if this despot were "suffered to retain his present importance, and to insult and bully all his neighbours, until the French should again be in a condition to support him, it would almost certainly leave the seeds of a future dangerous war." Meanwhile, Tippoo confirmed these convictions, and justified the intended procedure by a renewed attempt upon Travancore, and succeeded in razing the defences and spreading desolation over the country. The invasion of Mysoor compelled him to return for its

* Col. Fullarton, writing in 1784, accuses Tippoo of having caused 200 English to be forcibly circumcised and enrolled in his service.—(*View*, 207.)

defence; and the system of intelligence established by his father, together with his own activity, enabled him to take advantage of the separation of the English army into three divisions, to attack them in detail, break through their chain of communication, and transfer hostilities to the Carnatic. These reverses were partially compensated by the success of a fourth detachment from Bombay in obtaining possession of the whole of Malabar. The second campaign was opened in February, 1791, by Cornwallis in person. Placing himself at the head of the army, he entered Mysoor by the pass of Mooglee, and in the commencement of March, laid siege to the fortress of Bangalore. Though the troops had been little harassed by hostile operations, they were much enfeebled by the fatigues and privations of a tedious march; the cattle were worn to skeletons, and their supplies, both of food and ammunition, nearly exhausted. The arrival of a Mahratta reinforcement had been long and vainly expected; and affairs were in a most critical state, when the successful assault, first of the town, and subsequently of the citadel of Bangalore (carried by a bayonet charge), relieved the mind of the commander-in-chief from the gloomy prospect involved in the too probable event of defeat. Nevertheless, difficulties and dangers of no ordinary character remained to be combated. At the close of March the army moved from Bangalore northward, for the purpose of forming a junction with the auxiliary corps of cavalry expected from the Nizam. When, after being repeatedly misled by false information regarding the vicinity of the Hyderabad troops, the desired union was at length successfully effected, it proved a fresh source of trouble and disappointment; for the 10,000 light troops so anxiously awaited, instead of rendering good service in the field, were so ill-disciplined and untrustworthy, as to be incapable of conducting even a foraging expedition, and therefore did but augment the distress and anxiety they were sent to lessen.*

Though surrounded on every side by

circumstances of the most depressing character, Cornwallis, with undaunted courage, made such preparations as the possession of Bangalore placed in his power for the siege of Seringapatam. An earnest desire to bring to a speedy close hostilities, the prolongation of which involved a grievous sacrifice of life and treasure, added to the alarming information constantly arriving in India regarding the progress of the French revolution, induced him to advance at once upon the capital of Mysoor, despite the defective character of his resources. The troops marched, in May, to Arikera, about nine miles distant from Seringapatam, through a country which, in anticipation of their approach, had been reduced to the condition of a desert. Tippoo Sultan took up a strong position in their front, from whence he was driven by Lord Cornwallis—forced to action, defeated, and compelled to retreat and take refuge under the works of his capital, for the safety of which he now became seriously alarmed. Recognising too late the folly of wantonly provoking the vengeance of a powerful foe, he gave orders that the caricatures of the English should be carefully obliterated from all public places; at the same time taking the savage precaution of slaughtering, without distinction, such prisoners as he had privately detained, lest they should live to afford incontrovertible evidence of his breach of faith and diabolical cruelty.†

Lord Cornwallis was, however, quite unable to pursue his recent success. The deplorable condition of the army, in which smallpox was now raging, with diseases immediately resulting from insufficient food and excessive fatigue under incessant rains, compelled him to issue a reluctant order for retreat. It seemed madness to remain under such circumstances in such a position, still more to hazard further advance, on the chance of the long-delayed succour expected from the Mahrattas; and after destroying the battering train and other heavy equipments, which the loss of cattle‡ prevented them from carrying away, the English, in deep disappointment and depression, com-

* Their commander is said to have been influenced by intrigues carried on between the mother of Tippoo and the favourite wife of the Nizam. The former lady successfully deprecated the wrath excited by the gross insults lately offered by her son, in return to solicitations addressed by some female members of the family of Nizam Ali when in peril at Adoni.

† Twenty English youths, the survivors of the unhappy band whom Tippoo, with malicious wantonness,

had caused to be trained and dressed like a troop of Hindoostanee dancing-girls, were first sacrificed to his awakened fears; but there were many other victims, including native state prisoners. A few Englishmen contrived to effect their escape, and one of them wrote an account of the treatment received.—(See *Captivity of James Scourry*; London, 1824.)

‡ Nearly 40,000 bullocks perished in this disastrous campaign.—(Mill's *India*, v., 396.)

menced their homeward march. Orders were dispatched to General Abercromby (governor of Bombay), who was advancing from the westward, to return to Malabar; and Lord Cornwallis, having completed these mortifying arrangements, was about six miles *en route* to Bangalore, when a party of horse unexpectedly rode in upon the baggage flank. They were taken for enemies, but proved to be forerunners of the despaired-of Mahratta force, under Hurri Punt and Purseram Bhow. In answer to the eager interrogatories poured in upon them on all sides, they replied that numerous messengers had been regularly sent, at different times, with accounts of their approach; every one of whom had been cut off by the unsleeping vigilance of the light troops of the enemy. Their tardy arrival was in some measure accounted for by the time spent by them in co-operation with a detachment from Bombay under Captain Little, in the siege of Darwar, one of the great barriers of Tippoo's northern frontier. The place held out against the unskilful and dilatory operations of the assailants for twenty-nine weeks, when the arrival of news of the capture of Bangalore induced its surrender, which was followed by the easy conquest of all the possessions of the sultan north of the Toombuddra.

The Mahrattas now declared themselves unable to keep the field, unless the English could give them pecuniary support; and Lord Cornwallis, unable to dispense with their aid, was compelled to advance them a loan of twelve lacs of rupees, to obtain which he took the bold measure of ordering the Madras authorities to coin the bullion sent out for the China trade into rupees, and forward it without delay. The ample supplies of draught cattle and provisions, together with the innumerable miscellaneous contents of the bazaar of a Mahratta army,* afforded a most welcome relief to men half-famished and wretchedly equipped. Still the advanced season, and the return of General Abercromby, compelled the continuance of the

retreat to Bangalore; which was followed up by the occupation of Oossoor, Rayacottah, and other forts, whereby communication between the presidency and the Carnatic, through the Policade Pass, was laid open. By this route a convoy reached the camp from Madras, comprising 100 elephants laden with treasure, marching two abreast; 6,000 bullocks with rice; 100 carts with arrack; and several hundred coolies with other supplies.

The war was viewed by the British parliament as the inevitable consequence of the cruelty and aggression of Tippoo. The energetic measures of Lord Cornwallis were warmly applauded, and reinforcements of troops, with specie to the amount of £500,000, sent to assist his operations. Comprehensive arrangements were made for provisioning the troops, by taking advantage of the extensive resources and experience of the *Brinjarries*,† or travelling corn-merchants, who form a distinct caste, and enjoy, even among the least civilised native states, an immunity for life and property, based on the great services rendered by these neutral traders to all parties indiscriminately, from a very remote period. Measures were likewise adopted for the introduction of a more efficient system of intelligence. The general campaign which opened under these auspicious circumstances, was attended with complete success. The intermediate operations were marked by the capture of the hill-forts of Nundydroog, Savendroog, and Ootradroog. All three were situated on lofty granite rocks, and deemed well-nigh inaccessible—especially Savendroog (*the rock of death*); and so implicit was the confidence placed by Tippoo in the strength of its natural and artificial defences, that he received with joy the tidings of the assault, making sure that the malaria for which the neighbouring jungle had acquired a fearful celebrity, would fight against the English, and slay one-half, leaving the other to fall by the sword. But the very character of the place diminished the watchfulness of its garrison, and tempted them to witness with plundered village maiden; from oxen, sheep, and poultry, to the dried salt-fish of the Concan. The tables of the moneychangers, overspread with the coins of every country of the east, were not wanting in this motley assemblage; and among the various trades carried on with remarkable activity, was that of a tanner, so that the English officers were enabled to obtain, by means of ambulatory tan-pits, what their own Indian capitals could not then produce, except as European imports—excellent sword-belts.—(*Mysoor*, iii., 158-9.)

† A Persian compound, designating their office.

* The Mahrattas commenced by asking exorbitant prices for their goods; but when compelled by the diminished purses of the purchasers to reduce their demands or stop the sale, they took the former alternative; but still continued to realise immense profits, since their whole stock-in-trade had been accumulated by plunder. Their bazaar is described by Col. Wilks as comprising every imaginable article, from a web of English broadcloth to a Birmingham penknife; from the shawls of Cashmere to the secondhand garment of a Hindoo; from diamonds of the first water to the silver earring of a poor

contemptuous indifference the early approaches of the besiegers, who, after a series of Herculean labours (in which the utmost exertions of human strength and skill, were aided in an extraordinary manner by the force and sagacity of some admirably-trained elephants), at length succeeded in effecting a practicable breach in what formed the lower wall of the rock, although it rose 1,500 feet from a base of above eight miles in circumference. Lord Cornwallis and General Medows stood watching with intense anxiety the progress of the assault, which commenced an hour before noon on the 21st December, 1791. The band of the 52nd regiment played "Britons, strike home;" and the troops mounted with a steady gallantry which completely unnerved the native forces assembled to defend the breach. A hand-to-hand encounter with men who had already overcome such tremendous obstacles, was sufficient to alarm the servants of a more popular master than Tippoo, and they fled in disorder, tumbling over one another in their eager ascent of the steep and narrow path which led to the citadel. The pursuers followed with all speed; but the majority of the fugitives had effected their entrance, when a sergeant of the 71st regiment shot, at a distance, the soldier who was closing the first gate. All the other barriers the English passed together with the enemy, of whom about 100 were slain, while many others perished among the precipitous rocks, in endeavouring to escape. This important enterprise, which the commander-in-chief had contemplated as the most doubtful operation of the war, was effected in twelve days from the first arrival of the troops. The casualties were not numerous, and the actual assault only lasted an hour, and involved the loss of no single life on the side of the besiegers. It was well-timed; for even so much as half-an-hour's delay would have sufficed to bring to the scene of action the Mysorean detachment, then fast approaching to aid their comrades.

The counter-hostilities of Tippoo were

* In detaining the garrison close prisoners, notwithstanding a proviso for their liberation. Bad faith was the notorious characteristic of Tippoo, who, says Col. Wilks, could not be made to appreciate the value of truth even as a convenience. Among his letters, translated by Col. Kirkpatrick, is one in which he desires the commander of an attack on a Mahratta fortress to promise anything until he got possession, and then to put every living thing—man, woman, child, dog, and cat—to the sword, except the chief, who was to be reserved for torture.

feebly conducted; but the irrepressible tendency of the Mahrattas for freebooting on their own account, led them again to derange the plans of Lord Cornwallis, by neglecting to support General Abercromby, and their misconduct facilitated the conquest of the fort of Coimbatore by the Mysoreans. The flagrant violation of the terms of surrender* (a besetting sin on the part of Tippoo), afforded a reason for rejecting his overtures for peace; and on the 1st of February, 1792, Lord Cornwallis, in conjunction with the Hyderabad and Poona armies, advanced to the attack of Seringapatam, under the walls of which the sultan, with his whole force, lay encamped. Aware of his inability to compete in the field with the formidable confederacy by which he was opposed, Tippoo hoped to be able to hold out against their combined efforts in his island-capital,† by keeping them at bay until the want of supplies, in an already exhausted country—or, in any case, the recurrence of the monsoon—should compel their retreat. The dilatory and unskilful tactics of the native troops would probably have contributed to realise these anticipations; but the English commander-in-chief correctly appreciated the danger of delay, and chose to incur the charge of rashness by attempting to surprise the tiger in his den, rather than waste strength and resources in the dispiriting operations of a tedious and precarious blockade. It was deemed inadvisable to await the arrival of expected reinforcements from Bombay, or even to divulge the plan of attack to the allies, who, on the night of the 6th, were astounded by the news that a handful of infantry, unsupported by cannon or cavalry, were on the march to attack the dense host of Tippoo, in a fortified camp under the walls of his capital; and that Lord Cornwallis, in person, commanded the division destined to penetrate the centre of the hostile force; having gone to fight, as they expressed it,‡ like a private soldier. The sultan had just finished his evening's repast when the alarm was given.§ He mounted, and beheld

† Seringapatam is situated on an island formed by two branches of the Cauvery, which after separating to a distance of a mile and a-half, again unites about five miles below the point of division. A "bound hedge" of bamboo and other strong shrubs surrounded the capital, and Tippoo's encampment occupied an enclosure between this hedge and the river.

‡ There were two other columns, commanded by General Medows and Colonel Maxwell.

§ The Indians usually attack at midnight or day-break.

by the light of the moon an extended column passing rapidly through his camp, driving before them a cloud of fugitives, and making directly for the main ford of the stream which lay between them and the capital. This movement threatened to cut off the retreat of Tippoo, who perceiving his danger, hastened across the ford in time to elude the grasp of his pursuers and take up a position on a commanding summit of the fort, from whence he continued to issue orders till the morning. His troops had already deserted by thousands. One band, 10,000 strong (the *Ahmedy Chelahs*, composed of the wretched Coorgs), wholly disappeared and escaped to their native woods, accompanied by their wives and children; and many of the *Assud Oollahees* (a similar description of corps) followed their example. A number of Europeans, forcibly detained in the service of Tippoo Sultan, likewise fled to the protection of the English, including an old Frenchman, named Blévette, who had chiefly constructed the six redoubts which offered the most formidable obstacles to the assailants. Two of these were captured and retained by English detachments, at the cost of much hard fighting. The night of the 7th afforded an interval of rest to both parties, and time to ascertain the extent of their respective losses. That of the British was stated at 535 men, including killed, wounded, and missing; that of the enemy at 23,000, of whom 4,000 had fallen in the actual contest. On the following morning operations were commenced against the strong triangular-shaped, water-washed fort, in which the sultan had taken refuge. His gorgeously furnished garden-palace was turned into an hospital for the wounded English, and the magnificent cypress groves, and other valuable trees, cut down to afford materials for the siege. General Abereromby arrived in safety with the Bombay army, having perfected a line of communication with the Malabar coast; the Brinjarries maintained such abundance in the camp of Cornwallis as had not been known since the commencement of the war; and the soldiers, stimulated by the hope of speedily liberating, with their own hands, the survivors of their murdered countrymen, worked with unflagging energy at the breaching batteries. Tippoo, seriously alarmed, made overtures for peace, and after much delay, occasioned by his treacherous and unstable policy, and his unceasing efforts to gain time, was at length compelled to sign a

preliminary treaty, the terms of which involved the cession of half his territories to the allies, and the payment of about three million and a-half sterling. Two of his sons, boys of eight and ten years of age, were delivered up to Lord Cornwallis, as hostages for the confirmation and fulfilment of the agreement; but despite this guarantee, Tippoo showed evident signs of an inclination to renew hostilities, on finding that the English insisted on his relinquishment of Coorg, the rajah of which principality he had hoped to seize and exhibit as a terrible instance of vengeance. Lord Cornwallis, who appears to have acted throughout the war with equal energy and moderation, endeavoured to conciliate him by the surrender of Bangalore—a fortress and district which, in a military point of view, far surpassed Coorg in value; but on the latter point he took decided ground, justly deeming it a clear duty to reward the good service rendered by the rajah, by preserving him from the clutches of his relentless foe. Preparations for a renewed siege at length brought matters to an issue. The previous arrangements were formally confirmed by Tippoo on the 19th of March, and the treaty delivered to Lord Cornwallis and the allies by the royal hostages.

The total territorial revenue of the sultan, according to the admitted schedule, averaged from about two-and-a-half to three million sterling, one-half of which was now made over to the allies, to be divided by them in equal portions, according to the original terms of the confederation. By the addition now made to their possessions, the boundary of the Mahrattas was again extended to the river Toombuddra. The allotment of the Nizam reached from the Kistna beyond the Pennar, and included the forts of Gunjecotah and Cuddapah, and the province of Kurpa. The British obtained Malabar and Coorg, the province of Dindigul (a valuable accession to their southern territory), together with Baramahl and the Lower Ghauts, which formed an iron boundary for Coromandel. The Anglo-Indian army were ill-pleased with this termination of the war. They had set their hearts on nothing less than the storming of Seringapatam; and when, in consequence of Tippoo's overtures for peace, orders were given to desist from further operations, they became, says an officer who was present, "dejected to a degree not to be described, and could with difficulty be restrained from



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